

# THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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## THE MAROONS.

### THE AMBUSH.

THE Capre, who had listened, with every indication of the liveliest interest, to Frème's simple but touching narrative, was also deeply affected by their emotion, and shed tears in sympathy. All at once he said, brushing away the tears that fell, like pearls, down his ebony cheek,

"You have made me almost forget what I have been, what I am, what I intended doing. You have not only given me hospitality, but something more, which has gone straight to my heart. May you be happy; and may heaven bless you! But the time has come for me to thank you, and bid you adieu."

"Already!" exclaimed Frème and Marie at the same moment.

"Yes, dear friends," replied the other; "I too have a grandfather, and whilst it is yet light I should like to reach the place where he lives."

"Is it far from here?" inquired Frème.

"Nearly two leagues. It is near the Cone of Snows."

"What is his name, friend?" asked Marie.

"John," responded the Capre. "I know him by no other name."

Frème and Marie looked at each other with some astonishment, for this was also the name of their old benefactor. Lest, however, they should render their visiter uneasy, who, be it observed, knew very little of his relative—for Slavery confounds relationships—they made no observation likely to excite his fears or suspicions, but only pressed him the more to remain, even though

it should be but until the morrow. He manifested, however, so strong a desire to continue his way that they found it impossible to induce him to accede to their request. Marie wished him a safe journey, and Frème saw him across the old negro's flying bridge, expressing even a desire to accompany him a little further. But he would not hear of it.

\* \* \* \*

Not far from the spot where the two now stood, and hidden in a deep and thickly-wooded ravine, a couple of men might have been seen crouching in the brushwood, and eyeing the edge of the ravine with the keenness of the tiger-cat. They were swarthy from exposure to the sun, and miserably clad, but were armed to the teeth, and had at their heels three or four savage hounds, whose sanguinary ardour they could scarcely restrain.

"Thou art quite sure thou saw'st them," said one of them, in a low voice to his companion.

"I saw them, fast enough," replied the other. "I was perched in the tall palm yonder, and I should think from there I ought to have been able to spy game. They made straight for the point above us, and I have no doubt they are coming this way now."

"Then they are sure to fall into our hands," returned the first speaker; "for unless they topple down as that fellow did this morning, they have no other way but this. Chut! I think I heard something. Keep the dogs back."

\* \* \* \*

The Capre and his host had fallen into the ambushade.

"Stop, there, or you're dead men," cried

out what seemed to them an unearthly voice : and, at the same moment, they saw the men and the dogs.

Completely taken aback by this sudden attack, the Capre stopped short, and scarcely offered any resistance. Not so Frème, who, on perceiving the danger he was in, drew himself up like a lion in face of an assailant ; feeling his courage and his strength increased threefold by the desperate necessity of struggling now for dear life.

"This is your proper work," exclaimed he, in accents of rage, but regarding the two men with an air of ineffable contempt. "You are of use only to surprise men. Cowards, cowards, that you are, you shall not take me alive."

Even as he spoke he seized one of the hounds, which he instantly strangled, and brandishing the carcass, laid about him, and with it killed the others, at the same time menacing their owners, who durst not close with him.

"This is too much," said one of them. "We must renounce seizing him alive."

So saying he took aim at him.

"Mercy ! don't kill him. He will give himself up," cried the Capre, struggling to release himself from his capturer.

Scarcely, however, had he uttered this piteous appeal before the gun was discharged, and when he looked for Frème and his assailant, they were engaged in a desperate hand-to-hand fight. Frème had grasped his enemy by the throat, who, thus caught, as if within the folds of a boa-constrictor, let fall his carbine, and drew forth his dagger. But, losing breath and his balance, he fell like an inert mass with Frème upon him, and they both rolled down into the mire of the ravine, the Capre and his capturer looking on meanwhile, as if petrified. Indeed, as the one embarrassed the other, they could not take any part in this desperate struggle, which, besides, had occurred altogether suddenly. However, seeing Frème and his assailant down, they ran towards them with a view to render them assistance and to separate them.

"Oh, what a misfortune !" exclaimed the Capre, when they reached the place where they lay. "He is dead !"

With a wide, gaping wound in his left side, Frème lay extended across his adversary, still firmly grasping him by the throat, and by the arm that held the uplifted dagger. The negro-hunter's mouth, all streaming with blood, was wide open, his tongue lolling out, his eyes starting from their orbits, all dull and blood-shotten, like those of a strangled man's. Neither of them gave any signs of life, but it was impossible to release the hunter from the grip of Frème.

"Oh, oh ! what a misfortune, what a mis-

fortune !" ejaculated the Capre. "And his poor wife ! What will she do ?"

"Come, come, there's enough of that," said the other, brutally, and violently shaking the Capre by the shoulder as he knelt by the body of his friend. "How long art thou going to howl there, hound ? He has killed my comrade, and thou may'st think thyself lucky I do not do as much for thee. Come ! Mind thyself, and don't put me up, or I'll finish thee off. As it is, thou art in my way, for I can't cut off that black vermin's paws. Now then ! No grimacing. Quick march, and mind thy skin. I've a great mind to tan it, to teach thee to do something better than come and play the free man here."

As a necessary consequence of this injunction, the Capre was compelled to quit the spot, which he did forthwith, closely followed by his captor, but still repeating in a low, mournful voice :

"He is dead ! he is dead ! and I am the cause of this."

#### THE ANTI-SLAVERY ENTERPRISE.

WE subjoin the remainder of the Oration on the Anti-Slavery Enterprise recently delivered by the Hon. CHARLES SUMNER, and of which the first portion appeared in the *Reporter* for last month.

"II. I am now brought, in the *second* place, to consider the *PRACTICABILITY* of the Enterprise. And here the way is easy. In shewing its necessity I have already demonstrated its practicability ; for the former includes the latter, as the greater includes the less. Whatever is necessary must be practicable. By a decree, which has ever been a by-word of tyranny, the Israelites were compelled to make bricks without straw ; but it is not according to the ways of a benevolent Providence that a man should be constrained to do what cannot be done. What must be done can be done. Besides, the Anti-slavery Enterprise is necessary because it is right, and whatever is right is practicable.

"I know well the little faith which the world has in the triumph of principles, and I readily imagine the despair with which our object is regarded ; but not on this account am I disheartened. That exuberant writer, Sir Thomas Brown, breaks forth in the ecstatic wish for some new difficulty in Christian belief, that his faith might have a new victory ; and an eminent enthusiast went so far as to say that he believed because it was impossible—*credo quia impossibile*. But no such exalted faith is now required. Here is no impossibility, nor is there any difficulty which will not yield to a faithful, well-directed endeavour. If to any timid soul the Enterprise seems impossible because it is too beautiful, then I say at once it is too beautiful not to be possible.

"But descending from these summits, let me shew plainly the object which it seeks to accomplish, and herein you shall see and confess its complete practicability. While discountenancing all prejudice of colour and every establishment of

caste, the Anti-slavery Enterprise—at least so far as I may speak for it—does not undertake to change human nature, or to force any individual into relations of life for which he is not morally, intellectually, and socially adapted; nor does it necessarily assume, that a race degraded for long generations under the iron heel of bondage can be lifted at once into all the political privileges of an American citizen. But, Sir, it does confidently assume, against all question, contradiction, or assault whatever, *that every man is entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and, with equal confidence, it asserts that every individual who wears the human form, whether black or white, should at once be recognised as man.* I know not, when this is done, what other trials may be in wait for the unhappy African; but I do know that the Anti-slavery Enterprise will then have triumphed, and the institution of Slavery, *as defined by existing law*, will no longer shock mankind.

"In this work the first essential practical requisite is, that the question shall be openly and frankly confronted. Do not put it aside. Do not blink it out of sight. Do not dodge it. Approach it. Study it. Ponder it. Deal with it. Let it rest in the illumination of speech, conversation, and the press. Let it fill the thoughts of the statesman and the prayers of the pulpit. When Slavery is thus regarded, its true character will be recognised *as a hateful assemblage of unquestionable wrongs under the sanction of existing law*, and good men will be moved at once to apply the remedy. Already even its zealots admit that its 'abuses' should be removed. This is their word, and not mine. Alas! alas! Sir, it is these very 'abuses' which constitute its component parts, without which it would not exist, even as the scourges in a bundle with the axe constituted the dread fates of the Roman lictor. Take away these, and the whole embodied outrage will disappear. Surely that central assumption, more deadly than the axe itself, by which man is changed into a chattel, may be abandoned; and is not this practicable? The associate scourges by which that transcendent 'abuse' is surrounded may, one by one, be subtracted. The 'abuse' which substitutes concubinage for marriage—the 'abuse' which annuls the parental relation—the 'abuse' which closes the portals of knowledge—the 'abuse' which tyrannically usurps all the labour of another—now upheld by positive law, may by positive law be abolished. To say that this is not practicable, in the nineteenth century, would be a scandal upon mankind. And just in proportion as these 'abuses' cease to have the sanction of law will the institution of Slavery cease to exist. The African, whatever may then be his condition, will no longer be *the slave* over whose wrongs and sorrows the world throb at times fiercely indignant, and at times painfully sad, while with outstretched arms he sends forth the piteous cry, 'Am I not a man and a brother?'

"In pressing forward to this result, the inquiry is often presented, to what extent, if any, shall compensation be allowed to the slave-masters? Clearly, if the point be determined by *absolute justice*, not the masters, but the slaves, will be entitled to compensation, for it is the slaves who, throughout weary generations, have been

deprived of their toil and all its fruits, which went to enrich their masters. Besides, it seems hardly reasonable to pay for the relinquishment of those disgusting 'abuses,' which, in their aggregation, constitute the bundle of Slavery. Pray, Sir, by what tariff, price current, or principle of equation, shall their several values be estimated? What sum shall be counted out as the proper price for the abandonment of that pretension—more indecent than the *jus primæ noctis* of the feudal age—which leaves woman, whether in the arms of master or slave, always a concubine? What bribe shall be given for the restoration of God-given parental rights? What money shall be paid for taking off the padlock by which souls are shut in darkness? How much for a quit-claim to labour now meanly exacted by the strong from the weak? And what compensation shall be awarded for the surrender of that egregious assumption, condemned by reason and abhorred by piety, which changes a man into a thing? I put these questions without undertaking to pass upon them. Shrinking instinctively from any recognition of *rights founded on wrongs*, I find myself shrinking also from any austere verdict, which shall deny the means necessary to the great consummation we seek. Our fathers, under Washington, did not hesitate by Act of Congress to appropriate largely for the ransom of white fellow-citizens enslaved by Algerine corsairs; and, following this example, I am disposed to consider the question of compensation as one of expediency, to be determined by the exigency of the hour and the constitutional powers of the Government; though such is my desire to see the foul fiend of Slavery in flight, that I could not hesitate to build even a bridge of gold, if necessary, to promote his escape.

"The *Practicability* of the Anti-slavery Enterprise has been constantly questioned, often so superficially, as to be answered at once. I shall not take time to consider the allegation founded on considerations of political economy, which audaciously assumes that slave-labour—that Slavery is more profitable than Freedom; for this is all exploded by the official tables of the census; nor that other futile argument, that the slaves are not prepared for Freedom; and, therefore, should not be precipitated into this condition; for that is no better than the ancient Greek folly, where the anxious mother would not allow her son to go into the water until he had first learned to swim. But as against the Necessity of the Anti-Slavery Enterprise, there were two chief objections; so, also, against its Practicability are there two: the first, founded on its alleged danger to the master, and the second, on its alleged damage to the slave himself.

"1. The first objection, founded on the alleged *danger to the master*, most generally takes the extravagant form, that the slave, if released from his present condition, would cut his master's throat. Here is a blatant paradox, which can pass for reason only among those who have lost their reason. With an absurdity which finds no parallel, except in the defences of Slavery, it assumes that the African, when treated justly, will show a vindictiveness which he does not exhibit when treated unjustly; that when elevated by the blessings of Freedom, he will develop an appetite



for blood which he never manifested when crushed by the curse of bondage. At present, the slave sees his wife ravished from his arms—sees his infant swept to the auction-block—sees the heavenly gate of knowledge shut upon him—sees his industry and all its fruits unjustly clutched by another—sees himself and offspring doomed to a servitude from which there is no redemption; and still his master sleeps secure. Will the master sleep less secure when the slave no longer smarts under these revolting atrocities? I will not trifle with your intelligence, or with the quick-passing hour, by arguing this question.

“But there is a loftier example brightening the historic page, by which the seal of experience is affixed to the conclusions of reason; and you would hardly pardon me if I failed to adduce it. By virtue of a single Act of Parliament the slaves of the British West Indies were changed at once to freedmen; and this great transition was accomplished absolutely without personal danger of any kind to the master. And yet the chance of danger there was far greater than among us. In our broad country the slaves are overshadowed by a more than six-fold white population. Only in two States—South Carolina and Mississippi—do the slaves outnumber the whites, and there but slightly, while in the entire slave States the whites outnumber the slaves by many millions. But it was otherwise in the British West Indies, where the whites were overshadowed by a more than six-fold slave population. The slaves were 800,000, while the whites numbered only 131,000, distributed in different proportions on the different islands. And this disproportion has since increased rather than diminished, always without danger to the whites. In Jamaica, the largest of these possessions, there are now upwards of 400,000 Africans, and only 37,000 whites; in Barbadoes, the next largest possession, there are 120,000 Africans, and only 15,000 whites; in St. Lucia, 19,500 Africans, and only 600 whites; in Tobago, 14,000 Africans, and only 600 whites; in Monserrat, 600 Africans, and only 150 whites; and in the Grenadines, upwards of 6000 Africans, and less than 50 whites. And yet in all these places the authorities attest the good behaviour of the Africans. Sir Lionel Smith, the Governor of Jamaica, in his speech to the Assembly, declared that their conduct ‘proves how well they deserve the boon of freedom.’ Another Governor of another island dwells on the ‘peculiarly rare instances of the commission of grave or sanguinary crimes among the emancipated portion of these islands;’ and the Queen of England, in a speech from the throne, has announced that the complete and final emancipation of the Africans had ‘taken place without any disturbance of public order and tranquillity.’ In this example I hail new confirmation of the rule that the highest safety is in doing right; and thus do I dismiss the objection founded on the alleged danger to the master.

“And I am now brought to the second objection, founded on the alleged *damage to the slave*. It is common among the partisans of Slavery to assert that our Enterprise has actually retarded the very cause it seeks to promote; and this paradoxical accusation, which might naturally shew itself among the rank weeds of the South, is

cherished here on our northern soil, by those who anxiously look for any fig-leaf with which to cover their indifference or tergiversation.

“This peculiar form of complaint is an old device which has been instinctively employed on other occasions, until it has ceased to be even plausible. Thus, throughout all times, has every good cause been encountered. The Saviour was nailed to the cross with a crown of thorns on His head, as a disturber of that peace on earth which He came to declare. The disciples, while preaching the gospel of forgiveness and good will, were stoned as preachers of sedition and discord. The reformers, who sought to establish a higher piety and faith, were burnt at the stake as blasphemers and infidels. Patriots, in all ages, who have striven for their country's good, have been doomed to the scaffold or to exile, even as their country's enemies. And those brave Englishmen, who, at home, under the lead of Edmund Burke, even against their own country, espoused the cause of our fathers, shared the same illogical impeachment, which was touched to the quick by that orator-statesman, when, after exposing its essential vice ‘in attributing the ill-effect of ill-judged conduct to the arguments used to dissuade us from it,’ he denounced it as ‘very absurd, but very common in modern practice, and very wicked.’ Aye, Sir, it is common in modern practice. In England it has vainly renewed itself with special frequency against the Bible Societies; against the friends of education; against the patrons of vaccination; against the partisans of peace; all of whom have been openly arraigned as provoking and increasing the very evils, whether of infidelity, idleness, disease, or war, which they benignly sought to check. And, to bring an instance which is applicable to our own; Wilberforce, when conducting the Anti-Slavery Enterprise of England, first against the slave-trade, and then against Slavery itself, was told that those efforts, by which his name is now consecrated for evermore, tended to increase the hardships of the slave, even to the extent of rivetting anew his chains. Such are the precedents for the imputation to which our Enterprise is exposed; and such also are the precedents by which I exhibit the fallacy of the imputation.

“Sir, I do not doubt that the Enterprise has produced heat and irritation, amounting often to inflammation, among slave-masters, which, to superficial minds, may seem inconsistent with success; but which the careful observer will recognise at once as the natural and not unhealthy effort of a diseased body to purge itself of existing impurities; and just in proportion to the malignity of the concealed poison will be the extent of inflammation. A distemper like Slavery cannot be ejected like a splinter. It is, perhaps, too much to expect that men thus tortured should reason calmly—that patients thus suffering should comprehend the true nature of their case and kindly acknowledge the beneficent work; but not on this account can it be suspended.

“In the face of this complaint I assert that the Anti-Slavery Enterprise has already accomplished incalculable good. Even now it touches the national heart as it never before was touched, sweeping its strings with a might to draw forth emotions such as no political struggle has ever



evoked. It moves the young, the middle-aged, and the old. It enters the family circle, and mingles with the flame of the household hearth. It reaches the soul of mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters, filling all with a new aspiration for justice on earth, and awakening, not merely a sentiment against Slavery, such as prevailed with our fathers, but a deep, undying conviction of a wrong, and a determination to leave no efforts unattempted for its removal. With the sympathies of all Christendom as allies, it has already encompassed the slave-masters by a *moral blockade*, invisible to the eye, but more potent than navies, from which there can be no escape, except in final capitulation. Thus it has created the irresistible influence which itself constitutes the beginning of success. Already there are signs of change. In common speech, as well as in writing, among slave-masters the bondman is no longer called a *slave*, but a *servant*, thus, by a soft substitution, concealing and condemning the true relation. Even newspapers in the land of bondage blush with indignation at the hunt of men with bloodhounds, thus protesting against an unquestionable incident of Slavery. Other signs are found in the added comfort of the slave; in the enlarged attention to his wants; in the experiments now beginning, by which the slave is enabled to share in the profits of his labour, and thus finally secure his freedom; and, above all, in the consciousness among slave-masters themselves that they dwell now, as never before, under the keen observation of an ever-wakeful public opinion, quickened by an ever-wakeful public press. Nor is this all. Only lately, propositions have been introduced into the legislatures of different States, and countenanced by governors, to mitigate the existing law of Slavery; and almost while speaking I have received the drafts of two different memorials—one addressed to the Legislature of Virginia, and the other to that of North Carolina—asking for the slave three things, which it will be monstrous to refuse, but which, if conceded, will take from Slavery its existing character. I mean, first, the protection of the marriage relation; secondly, the protection of the parental relation; and thirdly, the privilege of knowledge. Grant these, and the girdled Upas tree soon must die. Sir, amidst these tokens of present success, and the auguries of the future, I am not disturbed by any complaints of seeming damage. 'Though it consume our own dwelling, who does not venerate fire, without which human life can hardly exist on earth?' says the Hindoo proverb; and the time is even now at hand when the Anti-Slavery Enterprise, which is the very fire of Freedom, with all its incidental excesses or excitements, will be hailed with a similar regard.

"III. And now, in the *third* place, the Anti-Slavery Enterprise, which I have shewn to be at once necessary and practicable, is commended by its inherent DIGNITY. Here the reasons are obvious and unanswerable.

"Its object is benevolent; nor is there in the dreary annals of the past a single enterprise which stands forth more clearly and indisputably entitled to this character. With unsurpassed and touching magnanimity it seeks to

benefit the lowly whom your eyes have not seen, and who are ignorant even of your labours, while it demands and receives a self-sacrifice calculated to ennoble an enterprise of even questionable merit. Its true rank is among works properly called *philanthropic*—the title of highest honour on earth. 'I take goodness in this sense,' says Lord Bacon in his Essays, '*the affecting of the weal of men*, which is what the Grecians call *Philanthropeia*—of all virtues and dignities of the mind the greatest being the character of the Deity; and without it man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin.' Lord Bacon was right, and, perhaps, unconsciously followed a higher authority; for when Moses asked the Lord to shew unto him His glory, the Lord said, 'I will make all my goodness to pass before thee.' Ah! Sir, Peace has trophies fairer and more perennial than any snatched from the fields of blood; but among all these the fairest and more perennial are the trophies of beneficence. Scholarship, literature, jurisprudence, art, may wear their well-deserved honours, but an enterprise of goodness deserves, and will yet receive, a higher palm than these.

"In other aspects its dignity is apparent. It concerns the cause of human freedom, which, from the earliest days, has been the darling of history. By all the memories of the past, by the stories of childhood and the studies of youth, by every example of magnanimous virtue, by every aspiration for the good and true, by the fame of the martyrs swelling through all time, by the renown of patriots whose lives are land-marks of progress, by the praise lavished upon our fathers, you are summoned to this work. Unless Freedom be an illusion, and benevolence an error, you cannot resist the appeal. But our cause is nobler even than that of our fathers, inasmuch as it is more exalted to struggle for the freedom of *others* than for our own.

"Its practical importance at this moment gives to it an additional eminence. Whether measured by the number of beings it seeks to benefit, by the magnitude of the wrongs it hopes to relieve, by the difficulties which beset it, by the political relations which it affects, or by the ability and character it has enlisted, the cause of the slave now assumes proportions of grandeur which dwarf all other interests in our broad country. In its presence the machinations of politicians, the aspirations of office-seekers, and the combinations of party, all sink below even their ordinary insignificance. For myself, Sir, I can see little else at this time among us which can tempt out on to the exposed steeps of public life an honest man who wishes, by something that he does, to leave the world better than he found it. I can see little else which can afford any of those satisfactions which an honest man should covet. Nor is there any cause which so surely promises final success.

'Oh! a fair cause stands firm and will abide;  
Legions of angels fight upon its side!'

"It is written that in the last days there shall be scoffers; and even this Enterprise, thus philanthropic, has not escaped their aspersions. And as the objections to its Necessity were twofold, and the objections to its Practicability two-

fold, so, also, are the aspersions two-fold;—first, in the form of hard words, and secondly, by personal disparagement of those who are engaged in it.

"1. The *hard words* are manifold as the passions and prejudices of men; but they generally end in the imputation of 'fanaticism.' In such a cause I am willing to be called 'fanatic,' or what you will. I care not for aspersions, nor shall I shrink before hard words, either here or elsewhere. I have learned from that great Englishman, Oliver Cromwell, that no man can be trusted 'who is afraid of a paper pellet;' and I am too familiar with history not to know that every movement for reform, in Church or State, every endeavour for human liberty or human rights, has been thus assailed. I do not forget with what facility and frequency hard words have been employed—how that grandest character of many generations, the precursor of our own Washington, without whose example our Republic might have failed—the great William, Prince of Orange, the founder of the Dutch Republic, the United States of Holland—I do not forget how he was publicly branded as 'a perjurer and a pest of society;' and, not to dwell on general instances, how the enterprise for the abolition of the slave-trade was characterised on the floor of Parliament by one eminent speaker as 'mischievous,' and by another as 'visionary and delusive;' and how the exalted characters which it had enlisted were arraigned by still another eminent speaker—none other than that Tarleton, so conspicuous as the commander of the British horse in the Southern campaigns of our Revolution, but more conspicuous in politics at home—'as a junto of sectaries, sophists, enthusiasts, and fanatics;' and also were again arraigned by no less a person than a prince of the blood, the Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV. of England, as either 'fanatics or hypocrites,' in one of which classes he openly placed William Wilberforce. But impartial history, with immortal pen, has redressed these impassioned judgments; and the same impartial history will yet rejudge the impassioned judgments of this hour.

"2. Hard words have been followed by *personal disparagement*, and the sneer is often launched that our Enterprise lacks the authority of names eminent in Church and State. If this be so, the more is the pity on their account; for our cause is needed to them more than they are needed to our cause. But, alas! it is only according to the example of history that it should be so. It is not the eminent in Church and State, the rich and powerful, the favourite of fortune and of place, who most promptly welcome Truth when she heralds change in the existing order of things. It is others in poorer condition who throw open their hospitable hearts to the unattended stranger Nay, more; it is not the dwellers amidst the glare of the world, but the humble and lowly, who most clearly discern new duties—as the watchers placed in the depths of a well may observe the stars which are obscured to those who live in the effulgence of noon. Placed below the egotism and prejudice of self-interest, or of a class—below the cares and temptations of wealth or power—in the obscurity of common life, they dis-

cern the new signal, and surrender themselves unreservedly to its guidance. The Saviour knew this. He did not call upon the priest, or Levite, or Pharisee, to follow Him; but upon the humble fisherman by the sea of Galilee. And this is my response to the aspersions upon our cause.

"And now, Sir, I present to you the Anti-Slavery Enterprise vindicated in Necessity, Practicability, and Dignity against all objections. If there be any objection which I have not answered, it is because I am not aware of its existence. It remains that I should give a practical conclusion to this whole matter by shewing, though in glimpses only, your SPECIAL DUTIES AS FREEMEN OF THE NORTH. And, thank God! at last there is a North.

"Mr. President, it is not uncommon to hear persons among us at the North confess the wrong of Slavery, and then, folding their hands in absolute listlessness, ejaculate, 'What can we do about it?' Such men we encounter daily. You all know them. Among them are men in every department of human activity—who perpetually buy, build, and plan—who shrink from no labour—who are daunted by no peril of commercial adventure, by no hardihood of industrial enterprise—who, reaching in their understanding across ocean and continents, would undertake 'to put a girdle about the earth in forty seconds;' and yet, disheartened, they can join in no effort against Slavery. Others there are, especially among the youthful and enthusiastic, who vainly sigh because they were not born in the age of chivalry, or at least in the days of the Revolution, not thinking that in this Enterprise there is an opportunity of loftier endeavour, such as no paladin of chivalry or chief of the Revolution enjoyed. Others there are, who freely bestow their means and time upon the distant inaccessible heathen of another hemisphere in the islands of the sea; and yet they can do nothing to mitigate our greater heathenism here at home. While confessing that it ought to disappear from the earth, they forego, renounce, and abandon all exertion against it. Others there are still (such is human inconsistency!) who plant the tree in whose full-grown shade they can never expect to sit—who hopefully drop the acorn in the earth, trusting that the oak which it sends upward to the skies will shelter their children beneath its shade; but they will do nothing to plant or nurture the great tree of Liberty, that it may cover with its arms unborn generations of men.

"Others still there are, particularly in the large cities, who content themselves by occasional contributions to the redemption of a slave. To this object they give out of ample riches, and thus seek to silence the monitions of conscience. Now, I would not discountenance any form of activity by which human freedom, even in a single case, may be secured. But I desire to say that such an act—too often accompanied by a pharisaical pretension in strange contrast to the petty performance—cannot be considered an essential aid to the Anti-Slavery Enterprise. Not in this way can any impression be made on an evil so vast as Slavery, as you will clearly see by an illustration which I shall give. The god Thor, of Scandinavian mythology, whose strength was more than that of Hercules, was once challenged to drain a



simple cup dry. He applied it to his lips, and with superhuman capacity drank, but the water did not recede even from the rim, till, at last, the god abandoned the effort. The failure of even his extraordinary strength was explained, when he learned that the simple cup had communicated, by an invisible connection, with the whole vast ocean behind, out of which it was perpetually supplied, and which remained absolutely unaffected by the effort. And just so will these occasions of charity, though encountered by the largest private means, be constantly renewed, for they communicate with the whole vast black sea of Slavery behind, out of which they are perpetually supplied, and which remains absolutely unaffected by the effort. Sir, private means may cope with individual necessities, but they are powerless to redress the evils of a wicked institution. Charity is limited and local; but the evils of Slavery are infinite and everywhere. Besides, a wrong, organized and upheld by law, can be removed only through a change of the law. Not, then, by an occasional contribution to the ransom of a slave can your duty be done in this great cause, but only by earnest, constant, valiant efforts against the institution—against the law—which makes slaves.

"I am not insensible of the difficulties of this work. Full well I know the power of Slavery. Full well I know its various intrenchments in the Church, the politics, and the prejudices of the country. Full well I know the sensitive interests of property, amounting to many hundred millions of dollars, which are said to be at stake. But these things can furnish no motive or apology for indifference, or for any folding of the hands. Surely the wrong is not less wrong because it is gigantic—the evil is not less evil because it is immeasurable; nor can the duty of perpetual warfare with wrong or evil be in this instance suspended. Nay, because Slavery is powerful, because the enterprise is difficult, therefore is the duty of all more exigent. The well-tempered soul does not yield to difficulties, but presses onward for ever with increased resolution.

"And here the question occurs which is so often pressed in argument or in taunt, *What have we at the North to do with Slavery?* In answer, I might content myself by saying that, as members of the human family, bound together by the cords of a common manhood, there is no human wrong to which we can be justly insensible, nor is there any human sorrow which we should not seek to relieve; but I prefer to say on this occasion that, as citizens of the United States anxious for the good name, the repose, and the prosperity of the Republic, that it may be a blessing, and not a curse, to mankind, there is nothing among all its diversified interests under the national Constitution with which at this moment we have so much to do, nor is there any thing with regard to which our duties are so irresistibly clear. I do not dwell on the scandal of Slavery in the national capital, of Slavery in the national territories, of the coast-wise slave-trade on the high seas beneath the national flag, all of which are outside of State limits and within the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, where you and I, Sir, and every freeman in the North are compelled to share the responsibility and help to bind the chain. To

dislodge Slavery from these usurped footholds under the Constitution, and thus at once to relieve ourselves from a grievous responsibility, and to begin the great work of emancipation, were an object worthy of an exalted ambition. But before even this can be commenced there is a great work, more than any other important and urgent, which must be consummated in the domain of national politics, and also here at home in the Free States. The national government itself must be emancipated, so that it shall no longer wear the yoke of servitude; and Slavery, in all its pretensions, must be dislodged from its usurped foothold in the Free States themselves, thus relieving ourselves from a grievous responsibility at our own doors and emancipating the North. Emancipation, even within the national jurisdiction, can be achieved only through the emancipation of the Free States, accompanied by the complete emancipation of the national government. Aye, Sir, emancipation at the South can be reached only through the emancipation of the North. And this is my answer to the interrogatory, *What have we at the North to do with Slavery?*

"But the answer may be made yet more irresistible, while, with mingled sorrow and shame, I pourtray the tyrannical power which holds us in thralldom. Notwithstanding all its excess of numbers, wealth, and intelligence, the North is now the vassal of an OLIGARCHY whose single inspiration comes from Slavery. According to the official tables of our recent census, the *slave-masters*—men, women, and children all told—are only THREE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVEN THOUSAND; and yet this small company now dominates over the Republic, determines its national policy, disposes of its offices, and sways all to its absolute will. With a watchfulness that never sleeps, and an activity that never tires—with as many eyes as Argus, and as many arms as Briareus—the SLAVE OLIGARCHY asserts its perpetual and insatiate masterdom; now seizing a broad territory once covered by a time-honoured ordinance of Freedom; now threatening to wrest Cuba from Spain by violent war, or hardly less violent purchase; now hankering for another slice of Mexico, merely to find new scope for Slavery; now proposing once more to open the hideous, heaven-defying slave-trade, and thus to replenish its shambles with human flesh; and now, by the lips of an eminent Senator, asserting an audacious claim to the whole group of the West Indies, whether held by Holland, Spain, France, or England, as 'our southern islands,' while it assails the independence of Hayti, and stretches its treacherous ambition even to the distant valley of the Amazon.

"In maintaining its power the Slave Oligarchy has applied a new test for office, very different from that of Jefferson—'Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution?' These things are all forgotten now in the controlling question, 'Is he faithful to Slavery?' With arrogant ostracism it excludes from every national office all who cannot respond to this test. So complete and irrational has this tyranny become, that, at this moment, while I now speak, could Washington, Jefferson, or Franklin, once more descend from their spheres above to mingle



in our affairs and bless us with their wisdom, not one of them, with his recorded, *unretracted* opinions on Slavery, could receive a nomination for the Presidency from a National Convention of either of the late great political parties; nor, stranger still, could either of these sainted patriots, whose names alone open a perpetual fountain of gratitude in all your hearts, be confirmed by the Senate of the United States for any political function whatever under the national government—not even for the office of postmaster. What I now say, amidst your natural astonishment, I have more than once uttered from my seat in the Senate, and no man there has made answer, for no man who has set in its secret sessions and there learned the test which is practically applied could make answer; and I ask you to accept this statement as my testimony derived from the experience which has been my lot. Yes, fellow-citizens, had this test prevailed in the earlier days, Washington—first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen—could not have been created generalissimo of the American forces; Jefferson could not have taken his place on the Committee to draft the Declaration of Independence; and Franklin could not have gone forth to France, with the commission of the infant Republic, to secure the invaluable alliance of that ancient kingdom.

“And this giant strength is used with a giant heartlessness. By a cruel enactment, which has no source in the Constitution, which defies justice, which tramples on humanity, and which rebels against God, the Free States are made the hunting-ground for slaves, and you, and I, and all good citizens, are summoned to join in the loathsome and abhorred work. Your hearts and judgments, swift to feel and to condemn, will not require me to expose here the abomination of the Fugitive Slave Bill on its utter unconstitutionality. Elsewhere I have done this, and never been answered. Nor will you expect that an enactment so entirely devoid of all just sanction should be called by the sacred name of law. History still repeats the language in which our fathers persevered, when they denounced the last emanation of British tyranny, which heralded the revolution, as the *Boston Port Bill*, and I am content with this precedent. I have said that if any man finds in the Gospel any support of Slavery it is because Slavery is already in himself; so do I now say, if any man finds in the Constitution of our country any support of the Fugitive Slave Bill it is because that Bill is already in himself. One of our ancient masters—Aristotle, I think—tells us that every man has a beast in his bosom; but the northern citizen who has the Fugitive Slave Bill there has worse than a beast—a devil! And yet in this bill—more even than in the ostracism at which you rebel—does the Slave Oligarchy stand confessed; heartless, grasping, tyrannical; careless of humanity, right, or the Constitution; wanting that foundation of justice which is the essential bale of every civilized community; stuck together only by confederacy in spoliated; and constituting in itself a *magnum latrocinium*; while it degrades the Free States to the condition of a slave plantation, under the lash of a vulgar, despised, and revolting overseer.

“Surely, fellow-citizens, without hesitation or postponement, you will insist that this Oligarchy shall be overthrown; and here is the foremost among the special duties of the North now required for the honour of the Republic for our own defence, and in obedience to God. Urging this comprehensive duty, I ought to have hours rather than minutes before me; but in a few words you shall see its comprehensive importance. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the wickedness of the Fugitive Slave Bill will be expelled from the statute book. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and Slavery will cease at once in the national capital. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and liberty will become the universal law of all the national territories. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the slave-trade will no longer skulk along our coast beneath the national flag. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the national government will be at length divorced from Slavery. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the national policy will be changed from Slavery to Freedom. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the North will no longer be the vassal of the South. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the North will be admitted to its just share in the trusts and honours of the Republic. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and you will possess the master-key to unlock the whole house of Slavery. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the gates of emancipation will be open at the South.

“But without waiting for this consummation, there is another special duty to be done here at home, on our own soil, which must be made free in reality as in name. And here I shall speak frankly, though not without a proper sense of the responsibility of my words. I know that I cannot address you entirely as a private citizen, but I shall not say any thing here which I have not said elsewhere, and which I shall not be proud to vindicate everywhere. ‘A lie,’ it has been declared, ‘should be trampled out and extinguished for ever,’ and surely you will do nothing less with a tyrannical and wicked enactment. The Fugitive Slave Bill, while it continues unrepealed, must be made a dead letter; not by violence, not by any unconstitutional activity or intervention, not even by hasty conflict between jurisdictions, but by an aroused public opinion, which, in its irresistible might, shall blast with contempt, indignation, and abhorrence all who consent to be its agents. Thus did our fathers blast all who became the agents of the Stamp Act; and surely their motive was small compared with ours. The slave-hunter who drags his victim from Africa is loathed as a monster; but I defy any acuteness of reason to indicate the moral difference between his act and that of the slave-hunter, who drags his victim from our northern free soil. A few puny persons, calling themselves the Congress of the United States, with the titles of Representatives and Senators, cannot turn wrong into right—cannot change a man into a thing—cannot reverse the irreversible law of God—cannot make him wicked who hunts a slave on the burning sands of Congo or Guinea, and make him virtuous who hunts a slave in the colder streets of Boston or New York. Nor can any acuteness of reason distinguish between the bill of sale from the kidnapper, by which the unhappy African was originally transferred in Congo or

Guinea, and the certificate of the Commissioner, by which, when once again in Freedom, he was reduced anew to bondage. The acts are kindred, and should share a kindred condemnation.

"One man's virtue becomes a standard of excellence for all; and there is now in Boston a simple citizen whose example may be a lesson to commissioners, marshals, magistrates, while it fills all with the beauty of a generous act. I refer to Mr. Hayes, who resigned his place in the city police rather than take any part in the pack of the slave-hunter. He is now the doorkeeper of the public edifice which has been honoured this winter by the triumphant lectures on Slavery. Better be a doorkeeper in the house of the Lord than a dweller in the tents of the ungodly. For myself, let me say that I can imagine no office, no salary, no consideration, which I would not gladly forego rather than become in any way an agent for the enslavement of my brother-man. Where, for me, would be comfort or solace after such a work? In dreams and in waking hours, in solitude and in the street, in the study of the open book and in conversation with the world, wherever I turned, there my victim would stare me in the face; while from the distant rice-fields and sugar plantations of the South his cries beneath the vindictive lash, his moans at the thought of liberty once his, now, alas! ravished away, would pursue me, repeating the tale of his fearful doom, and sounding, for ever sounding, in my ears, 'Thou art the man.' Mr. President, may no such voice fall on your soul or mine!

"Yes, Sir, here our duty is clear and paramount. While the Slave Oligarchy, through its unrepented Slave Bill, undertakes to enslave our free soil, we can only turn for protection to a public opinion, worthy of a humane, just, and religious people, which shall keep perpetual guard over the liberties of all within our borders; nay, more, which, like the flaming sword of the cherubim at the gates of Paradise, turning on every side, shall prevent any slave-hunter from ever setting foot on our sacred soil. Elsewhere he may pursue his human prey; he may employ his congenial blood-hounds, and exult in his successful game; but into these domains of Freedom he must not come. And this public opinion, with liberty as its watchword, must proclaim, not only the overthrow of the Slave Bill, but also the overthrow of the Slave Oligarchy behind—the two pressing duties of the North essential to our own emancipation; and believe me, Sir, while they remain undone, nothing is done.

Mr. President, far already have I trespassed upon your generous patience; but there are other things which still press for utterance. Something would I say of the arguments by which our Enterprise is commended; something also of the appeal it makes to men of every condition; and something also of union, as a vital necessity, among all who love Freedom.

"I know not if our work can be soon accomplished. I know not, Sir, if you or I can live to see in our Republic the vows of the fathers at length fulfilled, as the last fetter falls from the limbs of the last slave; but one thing I do know, beyond all doubt or question, that this Enterprise must go on—that in its irresistible

current it will sweep schools, colleges, churches, the intelligence, the conscience, and the religious aspirations of the land, while all who stand in its way or speak evil of it are laying up for their children, if not for themselves, days of sorrow and shame. Better to strive in this cause, even unsuccessfully, than never to strive at all.

"There is no weapon in the celestial armoury of truth, there is no influence that ever rained from the skies, there is no generous word that ever dropped from human lips which may not be employed. Ours, too, is the argument alike of the conservative and the reformer; for our cause stands on the truest conservatism and the truest reform. It seeks the conservation of Freedom itself and of its kindred historic principles; it seeks also the reform of Slavery and of the kindred tyranny by which it is upheld. Religion, morals, justice, economy, the Constitution, may each and all be invoked; and one person is touched by one argument, while another person is touched by another. You do not forget how Christopher Columbus won Isabella of Spain to his enterprise of discovery. He first presented to her the temptation of extending her dominions, but she hearkened not. He next promised to her the dazzling wealth of the Indies; and still she hearkened not. But when, at last, was pictured to her pious imagination the poor heathen with souls to be saved, then the youthful Queen poured her royal jewels into the lap of the Genoese adventurer, and at her expense that small fleet was sent forth which gave to Spain and to mankind a new world.

"As in this Enterprise there is a place for every argument, so also is there a place for every man. Even as on the broad shield of Achilles, sculptured by divine art, was wrought every form of human activity, so in this cause, which is the very shield of Freedom, whatever man can do by deed or speech may find its place. One may act in one way, and another in another way, but all must act. Providence is felt through individuals; the dropping of water wears away the rock; and no man can be so humble or poor as to be excused from this work, while to all the happy in fortune, genius, or fame, it makes a special appeal. Here is room for the strength of Luther and the sweetness of Melancthon, for the wisdom of age and the ardour of youth, for the judgment of the statesman and the eloquence of the orator, for the grace of the scholar and the aspiration of the poet, for the learning of the professor and the skill of the lawyer, for the exhortation of the preacher and the persuasion of the press, for the various energy of the citizen and the abounding sympathy of woman.

"And still one thing more is needed, without which liberty-loving men, and even their arguments, will fail in power—even as without charity all graces of knowledge, speech, and faith are said to profit nothing. I mean, that *unity of spirit*—in itself a fountain of strength—which, filling the people of the North, shall make them tread under foot past antipathies, decayed dissensions, and those irritating names which now exist only as the tattered ensigns of ancient strife. It is right to be taught by the enemy, and with their example before us, and their power brandished in our very faces, we cannot hesitate.



With them Slavery is made the main-spring of political life and the absorbing centre of political activity; with them all differences are swallowed up by this *one idea*, as all other rods were swallowed up by the rod of Aaron. With them all unite to keep the National Government in base subjugation, and surely we should not do less for Freedom than they do for Slavery. *We, too, must be united.* Among us, at last, mutual criticism, crimination, and feud must give place to mutual sympathy, trust, and alliance. Face to face against the Slave Oligarchy must be rallied the UNITED MASSES of the North in compact political association—planted on the everlasting base of justice—knit together by a common danger, and by the holy sympathies of humanity—enkindled by a love of Freedom, not only for themselves, but for others—determined to emancipate the National Government from degrading thralldom—and constituting the BACKBONE PARTY, powerful in numbers, wealth, and intelligence, but more powerful still in an inspiring cause. Let this be done, and the victory will be ours.

### A CUBAN ON SLAVERY.

WE regret the omission in our last issue of the third part of the late Don Lorenzo Allo's Lecture on Slavery in Cuba. We now supply it, and would call attention to it, as being the first proposition ever made by a Cuban for removing a system, the evils of which he so eloquently sets forth. We have good authority for stating that the views advocated by the learned Cuban Professor are shared by a considerable number of his countrymen.

#### MEANS OF ABOLISHING SLAVERY IN CUBA.

"If I might only obey the desires of my soul, the law of manumission for the slaves of Cuba would be very simple: *All the slaves of Cuba are declared free.* These should be the words of the law which I should propose. But Slavery is such a horrible thing, that, once established, it is very difficult to eradicate it: a truth which is proved to us by the fifty years' discussion in the British Parliament, and by the existence of slaves in the Southern States of the American Union.

"Cuba holds five hundred thousand slaves,\* and we have already stated that every slave sees in labour the instrument of his misfortune, that his understanding is vitiated, and that he has very incorrect ideas of what is just and moral, and of religion. Our slaves, particularly those of the country, have no foresight; therefore, to emancipate them suddenly would be to ruin our agriculture, our arts; it would be to leave ourselves without domestics; it would be to rob their masters of the capital represented by those slaves whom they acquired legitimately; and it would be to subject ourselves to all the excesses to which they might be impelled by ignorance, hunger, and the dislike to toil. But every thing is reconciled by intelligence. When we believe it impossible to do any thing that is good, that is

moral, that is Christian, we should not say *we cannot*, but *we know not how*.

"To reconcile the liberation of our slaves with the conservation of our wealth and safety, I will indicate the means which I believe most opportune and most convenient for all the sons of Cuba. These means would free our native land from the germ of death which it contains for labour, for its morality, for its political and economical condition, for its present state, and for its future destiny.

"In my opinion, the liberation of our slaves, that is to say, the price of their liberty, should fall upon all the inhabitants of Cuba, including themselves; but I do not believe that possible, and I only desire that we should approach to what may facilitate that just division.

"I wish, first, to estimate what the masters of slaves should gain, to compare it afterwards with what they should lose; and, at present, I only allude to material gains and losses, since the moral benefit which the abolition of Slavery would produce to all is inestimable.

"I am not sufficiently vain to believe that the means which I am about to indicate are capable of no improvement; nothing is further from my ideas. And would that other minds, occupying themselves with a subject so vital for Cuba and for humanity, may present other means more easy, prompt, just, and beneficent: I should be the first to sustain them. I do not know why it is that the minds of Cuba do not deliberate on this important subject: even though they should not do it for the sake of humanity, they ought to be occupied with it; since, if we do not work for the gradual emancipation of our slaves, we run the risk of its being brought about suddenly, and of bringing in its train unspeakable misfortunes. This ill may come upon us from the English Government, from the Spanish, from the Haitien, and even through the agency of our slaves themselves. None but foolish minds believe that the slaves of to-morrow will be the slaves of to-day, as if the same rule which applies to individual life did not also apply to social life.

"But, let us see the measures which I propose.

"*First.* 'CUBA SHALL BE FREE AND INDEPENDENT.' I understand by 'independent' that she will be radically and for ever separated from the Spanish Government. I am no concessionist. What could that government do for Cuba, which has produced naught but misfortunes to the whole continent of America, and to Spain herself? That government sacrificed our Indians, separated us first from the world, then inundated us with African slaves, and to-day dictates for us laws which are the dishonour of civilization and the scandal of Christianity. In Cuba there will be slaves so long as there is a Spanish Government; and I abhor that government, because I desire the benefits of liberty for the inhabitants of Cuba—be they Creoles or Peninsulars—and for all men.

"*Second.* 'CUBA SHALL BE REPUBLICAN.' I understand by 'republican' that she have a popular government, with liberty of the press, of commerce, and of worship; that she foster industry and education, and that she assure her well-being and safety by becoming allied or an-

\* The number is estimated to be very little short of one million.—(Ed. A.S.R.)



nexed to the United States. With these institutions, Cuba would be filled with toilers, and her industries would be fecund, because they would be intelligent. To-day, Cubans cannot carry any thing from one point to another, not even their own persons, without being detained by the petty officers of the law. The birds in the air, the fish in the sea, and the wild beasts in the forests, have more freedom than we have. But, I am mistaken: in Cuba there is no wild beast other than the Spanish Government—a wild beast which has engendered a two-headed monster, domestic slavery and political slavery.

"*Third.* 'CESSATION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.' That trade will continue in Cuba whilst the Spanish government rules there, since it serves its policy and its treasury. In Cuba the trade will cease with the attainment of her independence, as took place in the United States, where Africans ceased to be brought, and where the free labourers who emigrated thither were counted by hundreds of thousands.

"*Fourth.* 'TO ABOLISH; 1ST, ALL THE TAXES PAID BY RURAL PROPERTIES; 2D, THE CUSTOMS FROM LANDS AND SLAVES; 3D, EVERY DUTY ON THE EXPORTATION OF THE PRODUCTS OF THE SOIL; AND 4TH, EVERY DUTY ON THE IMPORTATION OF UTENSILS AND MACHINES FOR AGRICULTURE, AND ON THE WEARING APPAREL AND FOOD FOR SLAVES. A PORTION OF THE REVENUES OF THE COUNTRY SHALL ALSO BE DEVOTED TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS BY LAND AND WATER.' The disposition in this article will indemnify masters for the prejudice which they may sustain by the two following.

"*Fifth.* 'THE MAXIMUM PRICE OF A SLAVE SHALL BE 700 DOLLARS UP TO THE YEAR 1860, 600 DOLLARS THENCE TILL THE YEAR 1870, AND 100 DOLLARS LESS FOR EACH DECADE UNTIL THE COMPLETE EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY.' This law would be very important, since without it we would have to contend with the inconveniences of a sudden manumission, or with those of perpetuating Slavery in Cuba. Thus, therefore, to assure its benefits, this rule should form part of the political constitution of Cuba, and every pretension directed in opposition to it should be held as an attempt against that constitution. But let us see the last article before analyzing the present.

"*Sixth.* 'LIBERTY TO THE CHILDREN OF OUR SLAVE WOMEN WHO MAY BE BORN IN FUTURE, THEN THERE CAN BE NO MORE SLAVES BORN IN CUBA.' This humane law would be for slave fathers the greatest of benefits; and that new generation would not abhor labour, since it would see in industry its subsistence, its well-being, and its future. These children would form a new tie between the master and his slaves. The master in treating them well would have the best means of stimulating their parents to work; and the latter in their turn would endeavour to merit this kindness towards their children by persevering in work. Some say that the master would disregard these children to the point that they would perish for want of care; but I believe that there is more goodness in our breasts than those who speak so suppose.

"Humanity is a law of God, and the laws of God always stand as tribunals in every human

conscience. I believe, apart from our philanthropy, that the loss which would accrue to masters from the maintenance of these creatures, and from the cares which their mothers have to bestow on them, is insignificant compared to the utility which they would derive from the good service of their parents, for whom there would be a future, inasmuch as the future of their children would be theirs.

"The price of 700 dollars per slave in no respect prejudices owners, since the average value of a slave in Cuba is from 500 dollars to 600 dollars. Supposing that the law should be enacted in the year 1854, it would follow, that up to the year 1869 a slave would be worth 600 dollars; that is to say, that the master would have enjoyed him for the space of fifteen years, without a diminution of his value; in twenty-five years after the passage of the law, the slave would be worth 500 dollars. It is certain that, the law being enacted, the master would have to maintain the children of slaves born in future; and that after the lapse of fifteen years, he would lose 100 dollars every ten years in the value of a slave: but the benefit which the fourth article produces to him is much greater than these two evils; much greater, because it leaves him more money than the price of the slave is diminished; and much greater, because the benefit of that article is permanent, while the evil of the emancipation is temporary.

"Another great benefit in the plan which I propose is, that the masters have time to set about replacing the slaves with free men; reckoning among these latter the children of the slaves, who will see in labour the foundation of their future, and not the worst of their enemies.

"I do not forget that it is not only the owners of plantations who have slaves, and that the proposed emancipation would also fall upon all slave owners; but the relief from the duties of exportation and the other administrative reforms before indicated, will leave in their hands, and permanently, a greater sum than what they lose. These masters, besides, enjoy for fifteen years the labour of their slaves, without any abatement of their price; an abatement which will not begin to take place until the benefits enjoyed are received for some years, and until the immigration of free hands lessens the wages of workmen and of domestic servants.

"It will appear to some that the preceding plan embraces a very long period; and to others a very short one. I will reply to the first, that the life of societies is not measured with the same compass as that of individuals; that to embrace too much is frequently not to attain any thing; and that in the country of Washington there would not to-day be a slave, if their legislators had adopted the plan which we are discussing. I believe that the American people, in establishing their independence, would not have hesitated in adopting such a plan; and yet now, perhaps, it would meet some difficulties. All things have more or less a time and a season, and that which I have just shewn in respect to the United States is applicable to Cuba. If the day of emancipation be somewhat distant, no injury will accrue to the holders of slaves; and the lovers of Cuba and of humanity will at least die with the

pleasure of contemplating a future, not very far removed, in which there shall not be in our country any but freemen.

"Those who consider the time proposed too short, I would only ask to study history, the science of economy, and the human heart; and if these three books, which do not lie, are not sufficient to convince them, I would advise them to examine the statistics of Cuba and of the neighbouring islands, and the principles of Christianity, either in a religious or scientific sense: they would plead then for the brevity of the time.

"It is more than time to come to a conclusion. To liberate our slaves is to fulfil the law of God; and to fulfil the law of God does not offer those inconveniences which error exaggerates. Sons of Cuba, I appeal to you and to posterity. If we emancipate our slaves, we will be astonished at our physical and moral progress; if we do not emancipate them, we will be doubly parricides, because we will deprive our children of physical wealth and moral wealth. Since we are adopting the immense benefits of civilization, let us be consistent and adopt also the petty sacrifices which it requires from us and for our advancement. That civilization, Jesus Christ, history, and our conscience cry to us against Slavery. Almost all countries have had Slavery, and have got rid of it. Always by the side of Slavery are seen hunger, vices, and serfdom; while the Christian principle of the fraternity of men is ever accompanied by well-being, virtue, peace, and happiness. Let us not forget it; there is no prosperity without industry; there is no industry without intelligence; there is no intelligence without virtue; there is no virtue without religion; and there is no religion where there is Slavery. The sacrifices which the manumission of our slaves may cost us are but temporary; the benefits will be eternal, as the father of humanity is eternal. These sacrifices will be the best offering to our sons, to our country, and to God. All the intellects of Cuba are opposed to Slavery, and more than one illustrious Cuban has liberated his slaves. In that number figures one of our heroes, Don Joaquin Agüero.

"In my humble opinion, not to unite the emancipation of our slaves to the independence of Cuba—and in such a manner as not to admit doubts and procrastinations—is to inoculate in our political regeneration a fatal germ of unlimited misfortunes. I see the fall of Greece, Rome, and Carthage, because they had Slavery. I see the Spanish-American Republics stumbling in the path of liberty; and I see in them merely the footsteps of Slavery. I see the Aborigines of Cuba disappear, and I see only the effect of Slavery; and I see sanguinary wars between the Turks and Christians, solely on account of Slavery. I see in Africa a market of human flesh sustained by Slavery. I see despots on the earth, because their power is based on Slavery; and I see our heroes perish on scaffolds, because Slavery reigns in Cuba. I see, in fine, the misfortune of our land, and of the whole earth, still growing from Slavery. I have but one voice and one heart, and my voice and my heart are for Cuba and for humanity, because God and nature proclaim the liberty of the human race."

## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 1, 1855.

### REUBEN NIXON, THE NEGRO IMPOSTOR, AGAIN.

WE have received information that this incorrigible delinquent is still in this country, and carrying on his nefarious practices with that unparalleled effrontery which has earned for him so unenviable a distinction. We should have thought, after the very complete exposure of him we made in our columns, and after our reiterated warnings, that at least none of the readers of the *Reporter* would suffer themselves to be duped. It appears, however, that such has been the case; nor can we, indeed, greatly wonder at this circumstance, knowing so well, as we do, the consummate duplicity of the individual in question, and the artfulness with which he concocts a tale calculated to put even the wary off their guard. It seems that the name he assumed in Edinburgh was HENRY SMITH; and that, with very trifling variations, the story he told was pretty much the same, in its general features, as he gave to us. It is to the effect that he has been in this country only a very short period, varying from a few weeks to some five, six, or eight months. He affects to be anxious only to procure employment, and when he accepts any money that is offered to him, he promises to repay it as soon as he is in a position to do so. He will also borrow under a similar promise. This he does, with a view—in the event of detection—to evade punishment for obtaining money under false pretences. He usually pretends to be unable to eat. But this is a trick to excite sympathy, as he indulges his appetite privately to any extent at his lodgings. These he takes up in some obscure quarter, and has more than once left them, and a heavy bill for board, &c., unpaid. As he possesses an extensive knowledge of localities, and is familiar, at least with the names of the principal Abolitionists and others identified with the Anti-slavery and leading philanthropic enterprises in the United States: a knowledge acquired during his vagabond life there: he is able very readily to answer questions concerning them and their habits, and to give his mendacious narrative a fair appearance of truthfulness. He usually professes to be quite ignorant of the existence of any Anti-slavery Society in this country, and does not scruple to deny, with imperturbable coolness, that he is the impostor REUBEN NIXON, even when the charge is made to his face.

It has been suggested to us, that perhaps one means, as effectual as any that could be employed, of placing persons on their guard against this arch-deceiver, would be to give



a description of his person. This we did in the *Reporter* for the month of April last year. As, however, so long a period has elapsed since, it may be well to give it again:

#### DESCRIPTION OF REUBEN NIXON.

"Is a fine, well-made, muscular man, about 26 years of age, and nearly six feet in height. Dresses neatly, and has a remarkably easy carriage. Is a very dark mulatto, nearly black. Teeth good, even and white: eyes bright, but having often an unquiet expression. Used to wear a tuft of beard under his chin. Hair woolly, and wore it a good deal brushed up off his forehead. Manners pleasing; voice soft and musical. Usually excites much compassion by shedding tears, which he does with extraordinary facility, and also admirably simulates a tremor of the limbs. Used to carry about with him a Daguerreotype of a coloured woman, whom he described as his mother. Says he can neither read nor write, but can read very well. Has assumed the names of ANDREW BAKER, HIRAM SWIFT, and HENRY SMITH, but says his real name is REUBEN NIXON."

We hope our friends throughout the country, being now again warned, will exert themselves to place the public on their guard against this incorrigible impostor. We would suggest that parties should forward to the local papers the foregoing description of his person, with a request that the editors would, on public grounds, be pleased to insert it. We have no doubt that were this extensively done, it would operate as a very salutary check.

#### LORD BROUGHAM ON THE SLAVE-TRADE.

In the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for April last, we re-published, from the *West Indian*, a Barbadoes paper, the text of a Petition to the British Government, signed by a considerable number of the most influential persons in that important island, praying for the exclusion from the markets of the United Kingdom, of the produce of Cuba and Porto Rico, until measures should be taken by the Spanish Government for the effectual abolition of the slave-trade, and for the abolition of Slavery in those Colonies. On the 26th of June ult., Lord Brougham presented that Petition to the House of Lords, prefacing it with a speech, of which we append a copy, and with which we have been favoured, the same not having been reported in the newspapers. His Lordship said:

"I have to lay a Petition before your Lordships, which I had the honour of receiving just on the eve of the Easter recess, and which well deserves the attention of this House. It proceeds from the Colony of Barbadoes, and may most truly be said to contain the representations

and the prayers of all the inhabitants. Signed by the President of the Council, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, the Colonial Secretary, the Colonial Treasurer, the Attorney and the Solicitor-General, many members of the Council, and members of the Colonial Parliament,—by the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, rectors of the Established Church, ministers of dissenting congregations, some hundreds of proprietors, of merchants, and of professional men—it may most justly be taken as proceeding from the constituted Authorities as well as the body of the inhabitants. And of the numberless petitions which I have at various times had the honour of presenting to your Lordships, I can recollect no one that could so truly be said to speak the sense of the whole community, as this does the sense of the most ancient of our settlements in the Carribean Sea, and all but the most important and most unfortunate.

"These Colonists approach your Lordships' House with a statement of the grievances, the evils, the intolerable evils, which they suffer from the continuance of the African slave-trade, and from the measures unhappily adopted by the mother country nine years ago, regarding the produce of West-Indian agriculture. Their statements respecting the slave-trade are brief, clear, undeniable, and convincing. Before rehearsing them to your Lordships, let me add that we have a pledge for the sincerity of their professed opinions against the inhumanity of the slave traffic—a pledge hardly necessary when we consider the great respectability of the Petitioners, and the high official stations which many of them fill, yet satisfactory as putting an end to all doubt upon the subject—I mean, that their interest entirely coincides with the principles they avow. The injury to their property begun, as they assert, by the emancipation, has been consummated by the continued existence of the Foreign slave-trade, and the permitted importation of the produce which results from it. We had, say they, been with the utmost difficulty struggling under the transition from the slavery to the freedom of our labourers, when we found all our efforts paralysed by the attraction which the unlimited supply of slaves affords to capital in rival settlements, and the unnatural amount of the produce extracted from their labours (it might have been said their torments) by the lash.

"These unfortunate Petitioners recite the sad history of the cruel traffic, the scourge always of Africa, now of the West Indies. They represent that it was abolished nearly fifty years ago in the British dominions. The first Act was passed in 1807; but proved ineffectual, because only pecuniary penalties were imposed, and the slave-trade was treated merely as contraband. I reckon it well nigh the greatest blessing that has been bestowed upon me, to have succeeded in carrying the Felony Bill, which, treating this execrable traffic as a crime, made it punishable like other felonies, and the enormity—I will not so far slander honest commerce as to call it a trade—became, by the law of the land, what it always had been by every rule of morality and every principle of humanity, a crime of the deepest dye. The Act of 1811 was effectual for



its purpose, and Africa, with our Colonies, was rescued from the scourge, as far as our own subjects were concerned. Treaties with foreign powers aimed at its extinction in their dominions also; and to the force of those treaties was added the somewhat more effectual force of our cruisers; so that, as long as the war lasted, the detestable traffic was generally checked. But when peace came in 1815, the same right of search and seizure no longer was effectual, and new treaties were entered into, especially with Portugal and Spain. The full and stringent provisions of these important compacts have, by Spain, never been honestly fulfilled—sometimes been openly violated. It appears, by the report of the Commissary-Judge, Mr. Backhouse, that in 1853 there were imported into Cuba, from the African coast, 12,500 negro slaves; and it is certain that in this return there were material omissions; for instance, as many as 2180 were left out in one month: but both in that year, and in 1854, it is certain that nearer 15,000 than 12,000 were landed in the island. The Brazilian Government affords a striking contrast in this respect to that of Cuba. The traffic had been carried on to a vast extent for many years, and all the efforts of our cruisers had failed to prevent it, though, no doubt, many captures were made. About 50,000 had, one year with another, been landed in Brazil. To that amount this horrid traffic reached in 1849, when the Government was resolved to adopt effectual measures for suppressing it; and next year the importation was reduced to less than a half. In 1851 not above 3300 were landed; in 1852 from 800 to 1000; and in 1853, the traffic entirely ceased. The extent to which it had been carried on for so many previous years is unfortunately a proof how insufficient all attempts upon the African coast, or that of Brazil, have proved; and the Cuba traffic, which still continues, has given the friends of the abolition reason to doubt if the efforts of our cruisers can greatly diminish, as certainly they cannot extirpate it. Meanwhile the Spanish Government has refused to declare it piracy, and has taken no steps to suppress it by local measures like those which have proved so effectual in Brazil. Piracy of the very worst description it undeniably is; and were those who perpetrate it suffered to be treated as pirates, it could no longer be carried on by any nation, more than the British traffic has been since 1811. But, while the same measures are not pursued with the criminals who supply Cuba with slaves, these Petitioners know that all their efforts are vain to sustain the competition of the Spanish planters, and they call upon us to exclude from our markets the produce of slave labour, and apply the only power which we possess, of at once relieving their distress, and extirpating the traffic encouraged by our unhappy policy nine years ago, when, by a gross perversion of the doctrines of free trade, we resolved to obtain cheap sugar at the heavier cost of piracy, and torture, and blood. To that policy I will give none of the names which it so well deserves, speaking as I do in the presence of many who countenanced, and not a few who patronised it. But as I began by expressing my humble thankfulness for having been permitted to carry through the Bill of 1811,

which declared this infernal traffic a crime, and consigned its perpetrators to the punishment of felons, so will I close my statement to your Lordships by protesting that for all the wealth of Ormus and of Ind, would I not have had any hand whatever in the dreadful measure of 1846. I move your Lordships that this Petition from those who, next to the Africans, have most suffered from it, should be laid upon your table."

On the 28th Lord Brougham again addressed their Lordships on the same subject. He said:

"He had been honoured with a communication from the Brazilian Minister at this Court, fully confirming his statement of last Tuesday, and adding that of the 4000 negroes imported in the last two years of the traffic, 1500 had been liberated by the exertions of the Government and police. It was most gratifying to observe the conduct of the Constitutional Government, which, next to that of England and the United States, had lasted the longest. Indeed, the coloured race was better treated in the Empire of Brazil, than by our American kinsmen. Liberated Africans had all political rights, save that of holding office, and free Creoles, without distinction of colour, had all rights, without exception, and not merely by law, but in practice; men of colour filling high places, both civil and military, and being received in society on the same footing with whites. Their Lordships were aware that the Constitution of Brazil rested upon the two great pillars of Representative Government, an extensive elective franchise, (every person having a vote who possessed £20 a year in any way) and two Chambers—one elective for four years, the other for life. Nothing could be more satisfactory than to find that the wise and virtuous measures he had described respecting the coloured races were adopted by so popular a Government."

#### FREE LABOUR COTTON.

It may not be generally known in this country, that cotton is being cultivated in Algiers to a considerable extent. We condense from the *Annales d'Afrique*, for the months of March and April ultimo, an interesting account of the results of the cotton crop in that colony, for the year 1854, just expired. But for the rains that fell in the spring, the crop would, it was estimated, have amounted to three times that of 1853; and but for the frosts of autumn, would have certainly more than doubled it. The season, however, appears to have been quite an exceptional one; yet, notwithstanding these drawbacks, the quantity gathered exceeded that of the crop of the previous year, and was superior in quality. Wherever the plant outlived the rains and the frosts, it abundantly rewarded the attention bestowed upon its cultivation.

It is necessary to observe, that the three departments, namely, Oran, Algiers, and Constantine, into which Algeria is divided, differ widely, and therefore must not be included in the same category. The province

of Oran, for instance, has proved itself superior to the other two. Last year, there was scarcely a settler who did not sow cotton, to a greater or less extent, and only for the damage done to the plant by the autumn frosts, their efforts would undoubtedly have been crowned with striking success. As it was, even, the results were highly encouraging. The quality of the staple; the luxuriance and strength of the growth; the very remarkable fact that the plant which is elsewhere annual, is often biennial and triennial in the department of Oran, prove that the soil is eminently favourable to its cultivation. This is attributed to the salt that abounds in it, for it has been remarked that the finest kinds of American cotton thrive best in similar localities. Some naturalists, however, ascribe the luxuriance of the plant to a peculiarity in the water. Be the cause what it may, it is certain that the cultivation of cotton is likely to be very rapidly developed.

The province of Algiers stands only in the second rank, although its colonization by Europeans, and the cultivation of the cotton-plant, have been prosecuted on a far more extensive scale than in Oran. This is owing to the circumstance of tobacco cultivation being so lucrative and so prosperous a branch of agriculture. Nevertheless, the attempts which have been made to grow cotton, have been so successful as greatly to stimulate the zeal of the colonists. This year, nearly 1800 *hectares* (about 4060 acres) have been reserved for cotton-plantations, being an enormous increase on previous years.

But few facts have been collated to form a basis for any very decided opinion on the capabilities of the province of Constantine, for growing this valuable plant. Amongst other isolated facts, however, it is gratifying to record that the natives are turning their attention to the subject, and are employing European labourers. One of these natives, the Kaïd Gullma, has 42 *hectares* (about 94 acres) under cultivation, and is cultivating according to the most approved and scientific methods with great success. The seed, instead of being sown broad-cast, is sown in tufts, by the line, and at regular distances of one meter. Each spot is watered four or five times, and the subsequent thinning out performed with great skill. His crop last year consisted of half Louisiana, and half long staple Georgia kinds. This year it has not been injured, and is expected to yield largely. The Kaïd personally superintends his plantations, employing only European labour, and the Government inspectors, who expected to find the rude Arab system in full operation, were astonished to find him familiar with the most improved modes of cultivation. Nor is this a single instance. Ten other natives, of some note, have com-

menced growing cotton on a scale of from one to five *hectares*,\* and as far as they have gone, have succeeded admirably.

These encouraging results are said to be mainly due to the energy of M. Merino, the head of the Arab department of Guelma, who stimulated the chiefs to distinguish themselves in this manner, and induced them to follow the instructions on the cultivation of cotton published by M. Hardy, the Director of the Central Nursery.

"It is very desirable that the heads of the other Arab Departments," observes the writer of the article we are quoting from, "should dwell upon these conclusive facts. Much will have been done for the tranquillity and the prosperity of Algeria, when the native dignitaries shall have been familiarized with the advantages of our civilization. A native chief who sees a fine crop of cotton growing and ripening under his eyes, scarcely thinks of fomenting troubles and preaching a holy war.

"We cannot too earnestly recommend intending cultivators of cotton to profit by the experience of others; to select their ground, and to utilize them each according to its nature. It is clear to us, that the idea of a uniform cultivation has proved fatal to many growers. Most of them seek in vain to grow the long staple Georgian sort, on soils on which that of Louisiana would thrive admirably. Their own interest should prompt them not to attempt the cultivation, at any risk, of the richest product, but rather to seek to grow that which is most certain. This, however, is a question of prudence, which only time and experience will enable them to comprehend.

"In conclusion, and we are happy to have so gratifying a fact to record, the crop of 1854 confirms the opinions and strengthens the hopes that had been expressed as to the possibility of growing cotton on a large and remunerative scale in Algeria. It has been proved, that ere many years, French Africa will become the seat of a most extensive cultivation of that raw material which is so vital to the existence of modern industry."

We feel sure that the advocates of the Free-labour movement, and indeed all who are looking forward to the development by European or indigenous free-labour, of the products of tropical countries, as one means of undermining Slavery, will be much interested in the results of these attempts at cotton-growing in Algeria. More than three hundred millions of pounds of cotton-wool are annually imported into England and France from various countries, of which enormous quantity, England alone consumes two-thirds; the bulk of which is the produce of slave, or of what can be scarcely termed free, labour. It is highly gratifying, therefore, to find that European energy and labour are being directed successfully to the

\* A French *hectare* is about two acres and a quarter English. [Ed. A.S.R.]



cultivation of a plant, the profitable production of which may be regarded as the mainstay of the system of Slavery. Nor is this the only encouraging fact, for we find that the Governor of Martinique (the Count de Gueydon) has, by a decree of the 21st April, offered a series of premiums to encourage the cultivation and exportation of cotton. At present, the premium applies only to the districts of the South, of Saint Lucia, Saint Anne, Marin, and Saint Austin. This series of premiums is thus stated :

One hundred francs per *hectare* of cotton-plants, the plantation to be not less than three years old, and the plants to be clean and sound. No plantation to consist of less than four *hectares*, and the premiums to be limited, for the present, to 100 *hectares*. The premiums to be awarded by a Commission to be ultimately appointed.

The premium on exportation is to be applicable to all the cottons of the colony, irrespective of locality, and is to consist of a first premium of one hundred francs per hundred *kilogrammes*\*, so long as the annual exportation from the colony shall remain below twenty-five thousand *kilogrammes*; and a second premium of fifty francs per hundred *kilogrammes* when the annual exportation shall equal or exceed fifty thousand *kilogrammes*. When it has reached this amount, the premiums to be established on a new basis; but they are not to be awarded for quantities of less than a hundred *kilogrammes*, and on a certificate setting forth their origin. It is to be paid on the Customs Authorities' voucher that the specified quantity has been shipped on board a vessel cleaving outwards.

We hope this example will not be lost on the local legislatures of our own colonies, several of which are capable of producing cotton in almost unlimited quantities. It would certainly be quite worth the while of any of them to try the experiment, and give a spur to the cultivation of other staples besides sugar. We shall recur to this subject in a future Number.

It is, however, gratifying to record that a few private individuals have undertaken to do on a small scale in one of our Colonies what the Local Legislature of Martinique has done.

The following is a copy of a small handbill which has been recently printed for circulation in Montserrat, which island used formerly to export considerable quantities of fine cotton. The example is quite worth imitating by others.

#### "COTTON.

"ALL OWNERS OR OCCUPIERS OF SMALL LOTS OF LAND, TAKE NOTICE!!

"Some of you can remember when you were Slaves, and when Cotton was grown in this

Island. Now most of the Cotton made into Cloth is grown by poor Black Slaves, in the United States of America, and their masters take all the money.

"Many good people in England, will not use this if they can help it, and think that you FREE people who get paid for your labour can grow Cotton BETTER and CHEAPER than it can be grown by Slaves.

"Now to encourage you to try what you can do, some ladies in England have given me Fifty Dollars to be used as follows :

"To the family who shall, on half-an-acre of land, in one year, raise the largest quantity of Cotton, Fifteen Dollars.

"To the family who shall raise the next largest quantity, Ten dollars.

"To the family who, in like manner, shall raise the largest quantity of the cleanest and best Cotton, Fifteen Dollars.

"To the family who shall raise the next largest quantity of the cleanest and best, Ten Dollars.

"All persons intending to plant Cotton, to try for these premiums, will learn all about the rules and conditions by applying to me at Woodlands' Estate.

"And I further give NOTICE, that I engage to buy all the Cotton which may be raised in consequence of this notice, at a fair market value, for the next three years to come.

"FRANCIS BURKE."

#### WEST-INDIA INTELLIGENCE.

##### SUMMARY.

THE CONDITION OF JAMAICA.—The *Falmouth Post* has the following reflections on the agricultural and commercial condition of Jamaica. It says :

"The prosperity or ruin of Jamaica depends entirely on the success or failure of her agricultural affairs. \* \* \* It is now a generally-admitted fact, that the present mismanagement of sugar properties cannot be continued much longer. It is sheer folly, and positive absurdity, to expect that estates can now be sufficiently productive to support attorneys and overseers, book-keepers and engineers, even with diminished salaries; in addition to which, there must be a calculation for the annual interest of debts incurred, exorbitant freights, commissions, brokerage, a multiplicity of charges for the receipt and sale of produce, and stated allowances, annually, to the unfortunate proprietors, for the maintenance of themselves and families. The whole system is bad: it is rotten and corrupt at the core, and it must be broken down and destroyed. Let the attorneys and overseers be converted into lessees, and then some hope may be entertained of a better state of things. As lessees, let them have the privilege of shipping their sugar and rum to what markets they like, and in what vessels they like, and we shall have a resident gentry, whose every interest will be mixed up with those of the colony, and whose exertions will not be cramped, as they are at present, by a servile dependence on the will and pleasure of their proud and overbearing employers. If this plan be adopted, the relations between them and the peasantry will be of a more satisfactory na-

\*Two pounds and a quarter English. [Ed. A.S.R.]



ture than those which now exist. Each individual will know and feel that he is dependent on the other—friendly alliances between master and servant will be cultivated—tickets of discharge without a moment's warning (one of the greatest curses of the country) will be unheard of—and although exports of the staple products decrease, the lessees will be far better off in their new character than as hired agents, and their social position will be greatly improved: for the man who pays his rent, superintends his cane-fields, boiling-house, and distillery, lives comfortably and decently within himself, and puts by for a rainy day a hundred or a hundred and fifty pounds per annum, will be more independent and more contented than he whose tenure of employment is uncertain, inasmuch as he may be turned 'out of place' to satisfy the capricious humour of an imperious, purse-proud autocrat of Mincing Lane.

"The leasing of estates would also enable the lessees to turn their attention to the rearing and manufacturing of minor products, as adjuncts to sugar and rum. A well-to-do, intelligent, plantocracy occupying the place of a beggared, but yet insolent aristocracy—an aristocracy which has sprung up from sugar hogsheads, rum puncheons, and molasses tierces—would be of essential benefit to the land of their nativity or adoption, by the exercise of a properly-acquired influence, and by their examples of morality and fair dealing to the prædial population. Barbados is a proof of the correctness of this assertion. British Guiana, Trinidad, and Antigua, following in the wake of Barbados, are fast overcoming the difficulties with which they have had to contend: and we can see no reason why Jamaica should fold her hands in sluggish apathy, and utter day after day the cry of despair, instead of arousing herself, and making a vigorous effort to retrieve her lost condition. Let the effort be made, and she will again bask in the sunshine of happiness. Her sons and daughters may not accumulate wealth, but they may enjoy other and more precious blessings. The revival of agriculture and commerce would encourage voluntary immigration, and our chief city and towns, denized by an industrious and contented people, would afford evidence of a country, rich in resources which require only persevering industry for their development."

In addition to the above we have received the following statement from a private hand, under date Montego Bay, Jamaica, May 19, 1855.

"A large number of immigrants arrived here from Madeira last month. They appeared strong, healthy people, and brought with them a goodly number of children. Although their expected arrival had been advertised for several weeks before they came, there were no persons prepared to engage them when they arrived. They were kept on the wharf for nearly a month, and have now been sent into different parts of the country to do the best they can. Of course they will die off, as others have done before them. The only parties that will be benefitted by their arrival will be the ship owners, who obtained seven pounds per head for bringing them hither.

Another shipload is, I am told, daily expected. Trade in the island is very dull, though I believe the present crop of sugar will greatly exceed that of last year. Wages are very low, whilst all imported food has greatly increased in price. On these accounts there is much distress amongst the poorer classes, especially those in the towns. It is painful to see the goods that are daily levied on for the payment of taxes. I often wonder that the people submit so patiently to the very heavy burdens that are imposed upon them. I am afraid that our new Constitution will not work much, if any, reform in our financial affairs. I should judge, from what I have seen during the last few months, that there is no disposition amongst those in high places to reduce our burdens. A large sum of money will be obtained from the peasantry on behalf of the Patriotic Fund."

**AWFUL CONDITION OF THE CHINESE.**—We learn from the *Falmouth Post* that a Bill passed the Legislature of the Island on the 30th of March last to "Amend the Act of the 15th Vict. and other Acts in respect to the determination of the Contracts of Service of Immigrants, and the Cancelling of the Bonds of their Employers, and for other purposes." By this Act the Immigration Commissioners were empowered to expend 1000*l.* for the relief of, and to provide support for the Chinese Immigrants who were brought to the island as agricultural labourers during the early part of the year. But although many weeks had elapsed, nothing had been done in their behalf.

The following is a description of their condition given on the authority of the *Falmouth Post* of the 24th of May last:—

"Day after day these unfortunate and deluded people are to be seen in the streets of Kingston, Spanish Town, St. Ann's Bay, and other places, in a mendicant state, and almost dropping to the earth from that species of exhaustion and weakness which arises from starvation. We learn from a Kingston paper that one of these men was actually seen crawling in Port Royal Street—his two legs having been amputated shortly after his arrival in that city—begging for a morsel of food; and we also learn from a Spanish town correspondent that 'a Chinaman was seen lying in the Parade, near the rails of the Public Garden, in a state that is beyond description. His eyes were sunk, and perfectly death-like. His countenance fixed and his limbs contracted, and useless to him. Every rib bone could be seen (he being almost naked), and he was a perfect illustration of the faithfulness of the picture of death to be found in pictorial Bibles.' And our correspondent goes on to state, that when he inquired of a policeman his reason for allowing such a spectacle to remain in the Parade, he replied, 'Oh! sir, we are trying to get a magistrate to try him for vagrancy.' Try him! Gracious heavens! what a reply. Try a man who by this time, we are sure, is numbered with the dead. What could have been done with this unfortunate creature? To what prison could he have been sent? What work could he be placed

to? We hope those who were instrumental in bringing Chinese immigrants to this colony will give us a full and ample reply to these questions. But this is not the only case of poignant want on the part of these people that we have heard of—we have heard of an immigrant having actually attempted to swallow a stone in mistake for bread, a heartless boy having thrown the missile to him, in answer to a cry for food. And notwithstanding all these things, we find the authorities still inactive—still permitting the Chinese to roam about and die for want of the necessities of life. When we say necessities, we do not mean clothing, for it would be madness for us to suppose that the people who brought the immigrants here, with the promise of furnishing them with decent clothing, with food, and with dieting, besides lodgings, and green tea, to give them, now that they are actually in the island, anything like raiment. What we meant was, that the authorities were allowing them to die of starvation! This, we emphatically declare, is a disgrace. If an individual were to permit another to die for want of food, the law would hold him responsible for that death, and he would be indicted for either murder or manslaughter, and punished accordingly. We would ask, what difference there is between the authorities of a country and an individual. We can see none. More anon."

**THE FIBRE MOVEMENT.**—We are sorry to find such disparaging remarks on this interesting and important branch of Colonial industry as appear in the *Falmouth Post* of 24th of April last. It says:

"One of the most striking characteristics of the people of Jamaica is, the eagerness with which they listen to the arguments in favour of any new project that may be started for the replenishing of their empty pockets, the fiery zeal with which they declare their intention to develop the new source of industry and wealth, and the quietness with which they lay aside their determination as soon as the novelty of the scheme has worn away. Immense were the rejoicing and loud the congratulations, it remarks, of the citizens of Kingston, on the announcement of the discovery that different varieties of the plantain and other plants, wild and cultivated, contained strong fibres, and that these might be made to become formidable rivals to Russian hemp and flax, especially during the present war. The members of the Jamaica Society of Arts, very laudably, took the matter in hand, and sent a number of specimens to the ensuing Paris Exhibition: and an ingenious tradesman invented and constructed a machine by which the fibre could be easily and expeditiously extracted from the plant. In fact, so great was the interest manifested in the movement, that to one unacquainted with the peculiar habits of the people, it would seem that Jamaica was to be converted into a huge plantain walk, interspersed here and there with the Jerusalem dagger and the coratoe, while the hedge-rows were to be a planted *cheveux-de-frise* of bristling penguins.

"Messrs. Sharpe and Forsyth, of Kingston, came forward for the purpose of taking the initiative in establishing the proposed new branch of

industry, by the working of a newly-discovered machine. In order to secure themselves, as is the custom in Great Britain, they applied to the Legislature for a patent, but to obtain it, they were required to pay upwards of a hundred pounds in the shape of fees, before the Bill granting the patent could be read a second time. It is to be regretted that an undertaking from which so much good might be derived, has been put off, if not entirely abandoned, in consequence of the miserable, contemptible policy of our legislators."

**EXPORTS.**—The subjoined is an abstract of the exports for 1854.

SUGAR.	RUM.	GINGER.	PIMENTO.	COFFEE.
hhds.	puns.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
32,728	18,567	710,086	5,102,728	5,990,672

In sugar there is an increase, as compared with 1853, but a decrease as compared with 1852. In rum an increase as compared with 1852, but a decrease as compared with 1853. The last three mentioned articles all exhibit an increase over the preceding year, but a falling off as compared with 1852.

**BRITISH GUIANA.**—A series of resolutions has been adopted by the Combined Court of Policy in Demerara on the subject of immigration. They affirm the necessity of continuous immigration as indispensable to the maintenance and promotion of the best interests of the Colony; and that the cost of the passage of Indian immigrants, or its equivalent 50 dollars, shall, subject to certain conditions, be borne by the planters to whom they may be indentured for the first five years of their industrial residence.

**THE CROP.**—The canes everywhere, says the *Royal Gazette*, give promise of an abundant crop. There is not much sugar making going on; but on large properties, where this process rarely ceases, there is a fair average of yield from the cane, notwithstanding the previous moisture of the season. There is reason to believe that this year's crop will exceed that of last year.

**NEGRO ORDINATION.**—An Ordination was held at the Cathedral on Sunday last, under circumstances which call for more than a passing notice at our hands. Mr. Lambert Mackenzie, of pure African descent, and the son of poor labouring parents in Berbice, was admitted by the bishop into holy orders. Ten years ago he was placed by the late Archdeacon Fothergill at Queen's College, then just establishing in this town; there he continued seven years, closely pursuing classical studies, and receiving, year by year, instruction in all the higher branches of literature. From the Grammar School he was removed, in 1852, to St. Augustine's Missionary College, founded at Canterbury, in England, for the express purpose of training missionary clergymen to go forth and evangelise the heathen in all parts of the world.

In the College examinations Mr. Mackenzie acquitted himself very meritoriously, carrying the Hebrew prize, and having obtained the College testamur, he was recommended by the authori-



ties, and also the Board of Examiners of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as in every respect fit to be admitted into the ministry of the Church. This admission, we have already stated, took place on Sunday last, in the presence of His Excellency the Governor, and a large congregation assembled to witness the impressive ceremony: there were present also the Clergy, the Bishop, the Archdeacon, the Revs. W. and G. Fox, and the Bishop's Chaplain and Registrar, the Revs. R. L. Webber and R. J. Wyatt.

We believe that this is the first negro who has received Ordination in the Church of England: \* the experiment, whilst it is a triumph to this diocese, seems to augur the best results. Let us earnestly hope that the example will prove a stimulus to the race, as showing them how much of all that is great and good may be accomplished by careful culture and perseverance. The Rev. L. Mackenzie has been licensed to the Assistant Curacy of St. Paul's; the populous villages in that parish will afford ample scope for all his energies and industry. Most heartily do we wish him God speed, and may we now hope that he will prove but the first of a goodly band of similar labourers called into the ministry of the church? We cannot conclude without noticing a pleasing circumstance which has been brought to our notice. A purse has been made up by the friends of his own race and colour, to present their future pastor with a set of robes. This cannot but gratify Mr. Mackenzie, and serve to send him forth on his ministry with hope and confidence.—*Demerara Royal Gazette.*

**BARBADOES.**—We are happy to state, says the *Barbadian*, that the yield of the cane generally justifies us in holding out to our home readers a larger crop than we had at first expected, and we do not think that the crop can come under 40,000 hogsheads. Some—and amongst them many of our experienced merchants—anticipate a much larger return, and give it as their opinion that it will be larger than last year's; but we shall be able the better to ascertain the correctness of their expectations, as soon as the crops on the hills have more generally commenced.

The cultivation throughout the island is beautiful, and the young crops as pretty as any we ever saw. The quality of the sugar is generally reported as very good, and we have ourselves seen many good samples.

**FREE TRADE WITH CANADA.**—A correspondence having taken place relative to a proposed free interchange between the island and Canada, the Barbadoes House of Legislature has passed the following resolutions thereon:

"1. Resolved—That this House pledges itself to pass an Act for admitting articles, being the

\* The Rev. Samuel Crowther, a clergyman of that church, although not exactly a negro, is a native African, and was taken out of a slave ship, carried to England, and there educated.—*Editor Liberal.*

native productions of Canada, into this island, free of duty, so soon as information shall have duly reached this House that a similar Act has been passed by the Legislature of Canada for admitting into that country, duty free, articles being the native productions of this island.

"2. Resolved—That it be made a special provision of such Acts respectively, that the free commercial intercourse thus entered upon between the two countries, may be terminated, at any time, by either country, on giving one whole year's notice of such intended termination to the other country, through their respective Executives, moved thereunto by a resolution of the Legislature of the country giving such notice.

**TRINIDAD.**—The storms usual in August have, says the *Trinidad Gazette* of the 2d of May last, made their appearance in April. In consequence, the harvesting of the cane had been suspended until more favourable weather.

**ANTIGUA.**—The following is from the *Weekly Times* of the 11th May, on a very important subject. It says:

"We notice in the *Dominican* a discussion in the Legislative Assembly, on the subject of the very unjust exclusion of natives and others identified with the colony from all official situations of trust and emolument. This is one of those grievances which Antiguans have long felt deeply, and the sentiments therefore enunciated in the Dominican House of Assembly will find an echo loud and deep in every breast. For a recognition of a principle more just and equitable many a stout battle has been fought in this island—more than the strictures of the local press been evoked; but the evil still, however, remains unhappily the same, &c. We fear that nothing but an energetic and united remonstrance to the parent State will remedy such continued perpetrations of wrong. We had hoped, for the sake of our fellow colonists in Dominica and elsewhere, that this grievance was peculiar to Antigua, arising from, and confined to, the very illiberal policy which we have had to complain of, as characterising our chief; but in this we have been mistaken. Grenada has but lately protested, and now we find Dominica, in justice to her sons, also reprobating the iniquity. The expressions of opinion given utterance to in the Legislative Hall of Dominica on this vexed question are so much in unison with our own feelings, that we make no apology to our readers for transferring them at length to our columns."

**ST. VINCENT.**—We learn from the St. Vincent papers that the propositions for free commercial intercourse with Canada had been brought before the Legislature of that island in a message from the Lieut.-Governor, "and after mature deliberation in conference with the Hon. Board of Council, the Speaker of the Assembly was empowered to send the following reply" to His Excellency:

"That, provided the Legislature of Canada exclude the admission of sugar and molasses, the

produce of slave labour, from their markets, at the rates of duty now or heretofore in force, and so long as that exclusion continues, this House will be prepared to remove the duties upon the productions of Canada by way of the St. Lawrence, upon the productions of this Government being admitted free from duty into Canada."

### SLAVERY AS IT IS.

THE *New-York Tribune* is publishing, from time to time, a series of pictures of American Slavery as it is, with a view to prove that the opponents of the system do not exaggerate the cruelties which occur under it. Under the head of *Slavery in Baltimore*, a recent number of this admirably conducted journal has the following article:

#### SLAVERY IN BALTIMORE.

"We are often told of the comparatively mild form in which Slavery exists in the case of domestic servants. We lately published a statement from Kentucky, showing in what diabolical manner this class of slaves—and those females—are treated by persons of the greatest wealth and enjoying the highest social distinction.

"That story has elicited another of a similar character in its general features, exhibiting a case of barbarity of treatment at Baltimore, where, if anywhere, one would suppose such occurrences as we are about to relate to be impossible. But our information leads to the belief that instead of being so they are by no means unusual among the slaveholding aristocracy.

"A few weeks ago a slave belonging to a lady long residing in Baltimore, and moving in the first circles, died at the hospital in that city. He was her coachman. During the severest weather, he used to be kept sitting on his carriage-box opposite the lady's window, half-clad, and, as was well understood to be the case with this woman's servants, half-starved. In this condition the man suffered and eventually froze. The servant becoming thus disabled and wholly unfit for service, a physician was sent for, who, after examining him, declared that the man was frost-bitten from head to foot, and must die. He was sent to the infirmary, where both feet were amputated, and he shortly died.

"A few years ago this same man's wife, who also belonged to his mistress, was so badly treated that she ran away, and prevailed upon Slatter, the great slave-dealer, to buy her out of her mistress's clutches. He did so; and she was ever after prohibited all intercourse with her husband, who was kept from his wife to be treated in the manner we have described. This woman, on hearing, a short time ago, that her husband was at the infirmary, went to inquire after him. She was informed that he was dead. She fell to the floor in a fit and died in six hours.

"Another female servant belonging to this woman also ran away. Her son, a young man, was sent in search of the fugitive. She was found at the town of Cockeysville. He seized

her, tied her to his buggy with a rope, and in that way drove her into Baltimore—sixteen miles—at a rapid rate, with the woman running by the side of the vehicle. It has been stated by some who witnessed the scene that it was hard to tell which was horsewhipped most on the road, the horse or the woman.

"Another female belonging to the same woman fell from the third story of her mistress's house to the ground, while engaged in washing the windows, and was taken up a cripple for life. It turned out that her mistress, by way of punishment, had deprived the servant of sleep, by compelling her to pass the night standing by her side, and that thus she fell asleep over her work, which circumstance caused her fall.

"These are facts of recent occurrence, and are well known in Baltimore.

"Reader, such is our Slavery in its best aspects as it exists in the heart of our cities. Such is the system as administered by the rich, the fashionable, and the aristocratic. Does it not strike you as a system ordained of God, which ought to be allowed to go straight into Kansas and all the rest of our territories, and be in no way opposed or disturbed according to the doctrine of the National Know-Nothings? And, reader, is it not a fit system for the widely-circulating newspaper, and the godly commercial journal, of this free City of New York to defend, uphold, and aim to extend? Aye, more than this. A system which is insolently advocated among us as being better for the labouring classes, better for our free territories, than one of universal liberty. Men and women of the free states, working men everywhere, what have you to say to these things? The hour is upon you when you are to act."

Here is another extract:

#### SLAVERY IN MARYLAND.

"At a late session of the Anne Arundel County Court in Maryland, a lot of slaves, manumitted by their owner, who died in 1846, when they numbered seventy, were remanded into Slavery by decree of the Court. The case was briefly as follows:

"John Townsend, an eccentric old farmer, of Prince George's County in that State, who, by his own exertions, had become the possessor of seventy slaves, and property beside to the amount of thirty or forty thousand dollars, died in the year 1846, and in his will gave freedom to all his slaves, and bequeathed to them his property. For many years previous to his decease he had declared to his friends and neighbours his intention of doing this, some of whom tried hard to dissuade him from his purpose. In addition to his will he executed before his death a deed of manumission, in order to make sure, if possible, of the freedom of his slaves in case his heirs should succeed in breaking his will, an attempt which he seemed to foresee. The will was contested, as in all such cases it is sure to be, and a trial took place, but the will was sustained. An appeal was taken to the Superior Court, where that judgment was reversed, the will broken, and the property given to the claimants. The late trial in Anne Arundel County was on the deed of manumission, which followed the fate of the



will, and was declared invalid and void, thus consigning the whole body of negroes back to that Slavery which a humane or conscience-stricken master had endeavoured to secure for them.

"As is usual in all such cases, the plea was that the testator and manumitter was not in his right mind. If he had been he would not have done so foolish a thing as free seventy slaves, and furnish them the means to start on a life of freedom under favourable circumstances. To be sure his purpose had been disclosed for many years previous to his death, and his will and deed of manumission, did nothing more than realize this long-favoured intention. But all this went for nothing before the Court which had the ultimate adjudication of the case. Who will pretend to disbelieve that the Courts in the slave states are particularly careful of the legal rights of the negro?"

#### SLAVERY IN KENTUCKY.

In addition to the above, we append a letter extracted from the same paper, recently addressed to the editor, detailing acts of cruelty and torture perpetrated on the person of a slave woman in Kentucky, and which, coming from a resident, may be accepted as an illustration of the system Mrs. Stowe has been accused of exaggerating.

"Paris (Kentucky), Tuesday, April 10, 1855.

"On Monday, the 12th of March last, a Circuit Court, for Bourbon County, commenced. A grand jury of sixteen housekeepers were empanelled and sworn. On Tuesday, at noon, the jury came from their room into open court, when the following was read, 'An indictment *v.* Alpheus Lewis, jun., and Margaret his wife, for cruel and inhuman treatment of slaves. A true bill.' Upon the reading of which the foreman stated that it was the unanimous wish of the jury that, if the law authorised it, the Court would proceed to take immediate possession of the slaves specified in the indictment. The case being 'something new under the sun' in this latitude, it was kept under advisement until the next morning, when an order was made by Judge Duval, directing the sheriff to take possession of said slaves—Sally, a woman of perhaps twenty or twenty-five years, and Martha, a girl ten or twelve years of age—and to summon the said Alpheus Lewis, jun., and Margaret his wife, to appear in the Bourbon Circuit Court, on Tuesday, the 20th of March, to answer the said charge. Accordingly, the negroes were taken possession of, and placed in the custody of Jos. Porter, our jailor, and the parties summoned as directed.

"The next day, Mr. Lewis came to Paris, and employed the best physician or physicians to administer to the wants of his wretched slaves; but notwithstanding their skill, and the rapid improvement made upon them, they were not in a condition that their owner could bring them into Court, and disprove the allegations which were made against him, or rather which were made against his wife. But, on the contrary, when the case was called up in Court, the Hon. Garrett Davis, Mr. Lewis's lawyer, remarked, in substance, that the slaves in question were in the

possession of the Court, and that the attorney for the Commonwealth could have such order made in the case as he—the attorney—chose. Whereupon the attorney, Mr. Dickinson, of Georgetown, asked for an order to sell said slaves, according to the statute, of which I subjoin an extract—

'If the owner of any slave shall treat him cruelly and inhumanely so as, in the opinion of a jury, to endanger the life or limb of such slave, or materially to affect his health, or shall not supply his slave with sufficient wholesome food and raiment, such slave shall be taken and sold for the benefit of the owner. On the petition of any person, verified by oath, or upon the presentment of a grand jury, setting forth substantially the ill-treatment of the slave, the Court shall cause the owner of the slave to be summoned, and may, if it shall appear proper, direct the sheriff or other officer to take possession of the slave and hire him out, pending the proceeding; and such judgment and orders shall be given by the Court as the finding of the jury shall justify.'—Art. 4, secs. 2 and 3, Revised Statutes, vol. 2, p. 684.

"The Court then rendered a decree to that effect, appointing Thomas A. Taylor, a Commissioner, and directing him to advertise said slaves for sale, on Monday, the 2d day of April, it being County Court day for Bourbon County. They were advertised by sticking the following paper upon the Court-House door, and in no other way, and at no other place that the writer is aware of—

'COMMISSIONER'S SALE OF SLAVES.—As Commissioner, under a Decree of the Bourbon County Court, at the March Term, 1855, in the case of Alpheus Lewis and Margaret his wife, I will expose to public sale, at the Court-House door in Paris, on the 2d day of April next, County Court day for said County, on a credit of four months, two valuable slaves to, wit: a negro woman, aged about twenty-five, and a negro girl about twelve. Persons wishing to purchase, can see said slaves by calling on J. Porter. Bond, with approved security, will be required, having the force and effect of replevy bond.

'THOS. A. TAYLOR, Commissioner.

'March 22, 1855.'

"Notwithstanding we have two newspapers published in Paris, and it is the custom to advertise valuable property, sold under a decree of Court, in the papers, the Commissioner and both of the editors, who are lawyers, and doubtless heard of the case, for it produced more general excitement than any case that was in Court, however kept it out of the papers. Why is this so? For answer, it may be said that the predecessor of the editor of *The Flag*, for a recent notice of the passage of Matt. F. Ward through our town, in which he denominated him as the 'great unhung,' was attacked shortly afterward in the City of Lexington by the Flournoys, and genteelly caned; and, when he was afterward told that the Flournoys were relatives of the Wards, and that they were influential men too, whose politics were with *The Flag*, and therefore he ought not to have published such a notice, he replied, that he did not know they were relatives. In commenting upon this, the editor of *The Citizen*

said that the editor who was caned ought to have known that Ward was related to *some one*. Both of our editors know that 'Alpheus Lewis and Margaret his wife' have many wealthy relations, and it is even yet true that '*the rich hath many friends*.'

"It was evident, however, that the neighbours of Mr. Lewis intended to do all that the law would enable them to do, to correct the evil complained of, and it is generally understood that if there is a repetition of such conduct as has been lately perpetrated, the law will not be called into requisition, inasmuch as it is a very inefficient one: such conduct, they say, shall not again be known to them and go unpunished.

"It will be observed that our law does not prohibit our tyrants from re-supplying themselves with servants, or rather slaves; nor, indeed, does it take from them, or only for a time, those that have been barbarously treated. Mr. Alexander, a merchant of Paris, after seeing these negroes, became very anxious to purchase the elder one, from the fact that he, about two years ago, bought her father and mother at the same time. Mr. Lewis bought Sally, and he had found them to be good servants, and wished to buy her, measurably to gratify her parents, not doubting that she too was a good servant, as she was so represented at the sale two years ago, and so her countenance indicated. But he was informed by the sheriff that there would be no use in entertaining such an idea, as Mr. Lewis had made an arrangement to have a negro-buyer at the sale to bid them in for him, as he was determined that they should not be sold to remain in this country. So the sequel proved. They were bid in by Mr. Lewis's agent, and they have been removed to parts unknown. Whether their tortures have ceased, 'deponent saith not;' they are evidently not yet in a condition to be taken off for sale.

"Mr. Lewis not defending the case, the testimony was not elicited in open Court, but it has been freely made known by the grand jurors, as presented to them. Before the jury, one of Mr. Lewis's neighbours, Mr. David Montgomery, of revolutionary descent, testified that on the first Monday in March, which was County Court day, the younger girl above spoken ran into his house in a state of complete nakedness, and that her first words besought them 'to please let her warm by the fire.' Upon examination by this neighbour and wife the girl was found to have been most cruelly treated. She shewed burns that evidently were made with hot irons upon her neck, her face, her hands, under both arms, between her legs, *both behind and before*, beside bruises upon her head, and bleeding at the ears. She had that evening chill after chill. This neighbour acted humanely and manly, and the miserable girl was soon enveloped in a comforter before his fire, and he sallied out in search of other neighbours, determined to have them witness the horrid spectacle. Unfortunately, nearly all of them were in Paris. He succeeded, however, in finding two, who saw the girl while at his house. He then, in company with one of them, went to Mr. Lewis's house, he also being in town. Upon the ringing of the bell, Mrs. Lewis presented herself at the door. A short conversation ensued, in which Mrs. Lewis acknowledged

that she had corrected the girl, and that she had bade her never show herself again in her presence. Mr. M. replied that she was in a very bad condition, and that she had better send for her; upon which the door was shut in their faces. It was also made known to members of the grand jury, though not in the jury room, by white men in Mr. Lewis's employment, that Sally—who is a grown woman, and, I think, the mother of children—was stripped by Mrs. Lewis's directions entirely naked, and her heels tied up to a tree about four or five feet from the ground. She then made a negro man force the pump, and another negro woman direct the hose so as to drench her with water, while she would stand off a pace and pelt her with stones until she would tire, and then she would take to her more favoured method of torture, the hot iron. The reason these men in Mr. Lewis's employment were not summoned before the grand jury was, that there was a sufficiency of testimony without them, especially in the case of the younger girl. Had they been summoned, Mr. Lewis would have anticipated the whole proceedings and put the negroes out of the way—a thing that the neighbours were very anxious to prevent, for they had volunteered their information to the jury, and wished it confirmed by the appearance of the negroes. The writer of this saw the slaves in the jail, in company with divers other gentlemen of Paris and Bourbon County, and I will say that Sally had old scars upon her back as large as one's hands; sores upon her hips, thighs, and legs, that could scarcely be covered with the palm of the hand. The smaller one's condition has been described above. She came to jail with no other clothing on than a linsey dress.

"You are ready to inquire who are this 'Mr. Alpheus Lewis and Margaret his wife.' He is the son of Alpheus Lewis, sen., of Clarke County, Ky. Mr. Lewis, sen., is said to be a member of the Baptist Church, (Calvinistic is the term of distinction in this country,) a man of wealth, and reputed to be of one of the best of families. Mrs. Lewis's maiden name was Scott, and perhaps she has inherited from her father, Robert Scott, a larger estate than any lady now living in our county. Her father died while she was quite young. Her mother afterwards married again. Her mother and stepfather are of the same religious faith with Mr. Lewis's father. The stepfather occasionally preaches, perhaps regularly. If these parents have brought up 'Alpheus and Margaret his wife' in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, the wise man erred when he said, 'Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.' Their fortune is ample. They spend much of their time in New Orleans and other cities. Their large estate, in a good neighbourhood, in Bourbon County, not being situated upon a Macadamised road, is not a suitable place for them to dwell in. They purchased a fine piece of land in Gov. M'Dowell's survey, and built upon it a handsome dwelling, after the most approved modern style. They laid out their grounds with taste, made a splendid carriage-road, and groups of handsome evergreens decorate their beautiful and extensive yard; so that the traveller, upon the road between Paris and Lexing-



ton (and which, by-the-bye, is said to be one of the finest roads in the Union), as he passes, would doubtless feel that here was a paradise; for here, nature and art have combined to make this place lovely and enchanting. Oh! shame, that it should be any thing else than paradisaical! But here is the residence of 'Alpheus Lewis, jun. and Margaret his wife.'

"*Uncle Tom's Cabin* has had an extensive reading in Kentucky. The majority of its readers, I think, deem it a faithful and fair work. But some have said that Mrs. Stowe was unjust in representing a master selling his favourite servant, and that she took more pains to depict the Legrees than the Shelbys. It is known, however, that good servants have sometimes been sold; and it is also known that no female character is personated in the book that equals or approximates to Mrs. Lewis in cruelty and inhumanity.

"KENTUCKIAN."

### Miscellanea.

A COLOURED GENIUS.—There is a coloured boy at work in the foundry of Mr. Norris, in Philadelphia, who, with a common jack-knife, cut a model of a steamboat, and painted its name upon the side, without being able to read it afterward. Some gentlemen interested themselves in the young genius, and he was about to be sent to Manchester, England, to learn the trade of a machinist, when his case attracted the attention of Mr. Norris, who, despite the opposition of the men in his employ, nobly gave him a place in his foundry, and the lad, notwithstanding that the men refused to show him how to do any thing, is rapidly becoming a skilful workman.—*Friends' Review*.

Mr. Meakin, a coloured man, who learnt his trade at the South, is now in the Novelty Works. He only obtained the situation by sheer accident, and the white men struck as soon as he was introduced into the workshop, and refused to work with him. Only the firmness of Mr. Allen, who discharged them one and all, overcame the prejudice. This is a sample of the ease with which coloured mechanics can overcome prejudice and get ahead in this country.

BEAUTIES OF SLAVERY.—Elijah Williams, a rich planter of Barnesville, South Carolina, arrived in Cincinnati, a few days ago, with eight negroes, one of whom was his wife, six his children, and the other his wife's mother. The object of his visit was to manumit the whole and settle them in Ohio. Just, however, as he stepped from the steamboat into a carriage he fell dead. The negroes having been brought here are of course free under our State laws. Mr. Williams had previously willed the whole of his estate to the negroes.—*F. Douglas's Paper*.

SLAVERY NOT PROFITABLE.—An intelligent gentleman writing from Houston, Texas, to New York, states as follows:

"The cotton raised and picked here by the Germans who have immigrated to this State is worth from  $\frac{3}{4}$  to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  cents more than that which is attended to by slaves—proving conclusively that slave labour is not the most profitable."

We are glad to have this emphatic testimony

at our command; it is worth placing on record, remembering, talking about. It takes from Slavery logic one of its pillars, and furnishes the opponents of human bondage with a weapon which they can wield to advantage. Testimony like this, taken on the spot, will not be gainsayed, we presume, by those who are anxious to think and act with the upholders and defenders of Slavery.

Slave labour is comparatively expensive. Let this be remembered. The labour performed by hired servants, those who are properly remunerated for their work, must necessarily tend to more favourable issues than that which is forced out of "chattels," by virtue of the oath and the whip. To work effectively, men must work with a will, and this the blacks can never do. Slave labour is comparatively expensive. Let the planters chew that fact for a while.—*Buffalo Express*.

A MINISTER FOR SALE.—There is an advertisement in a Kentucky paper of one for sale. He was a slave to a man recently deceased. It is stated in the advertisement that he holds a license to preach. Churches in want of a pastor will take notice.

### REVIEWS.

*The West-India Question. Published in the London Quarterly Review for July 1855.*

THIS paper, compiled from Dr. John Davy's admirable work, entitled *The West Indies before and since Emancipation: the Blue Books relating to the affairs of the Island of Jamaica, 1854: and the Papers and Reports of the Anti-Slavery Society*, has for its object the vindication of the Act of Emancipation. As a compilation it is a creditable performance, setting forth, within a brief compass, the principal points touched upon in the documents referred to.

### Advertisement.

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Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

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